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WOODROW WILSON'S ELOQUENCE

HON. JOHN W. WESCOTT

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HON. JOHN W. WESCOTT

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Dedication

In Memory of my Mother, whose Face was the Glow of Truth, which is the Substance of Eloquence.

Introduction

In the wilds of Canada, where the long, low call of the moose; the weird, uncanny cry of the loon; the bark of the cowardly wolf in quest of prey, and the multitudinous song of birds bring the mind in intimate association with the beauty and grandeur of Nature, and where the reality of things is borne in upon one with resistless force, is found the fulfillment of a promise, made some years ago, to Mr. Solomon B. Griffin, then editor of The Springfield Republican, to set forth my views of Woodrow Wilson's eloquence, and, by necessary implication, some knowledge of his personality.

The purpose of this brochure is, therefore, first, to explicate the nature and function of real eloquence; next, briefly to state the evolution of my conception.

Not without some hesitation, I have appended to the discussion my two speeches nominating Woodrow Wilson for the presidency in 1912 and 1916. They were composed under stress, while events were transpiring in the midst of which I took such part as one does who finds himself unexpectedly involved in some glorious and scarce believable emergency. Time and succeeding occurrences have verified the accuracy of their analysis of Woodrow Wilson's character to such a degree, and the prophecy of the second speech, thought by some, at the time of its delivery, to be mere hyperbole, has been (and I believe is further to be) so remarkably fulfilled, that

the repetition of them now may not prove uninteresting to any one who may find merit in the ensuing reflections. Then, too, they are examples, or intended to be, of application of the principles herein discussed. They are genuine expressions, at any rate, of the influence of the man whose eloquence of character, as well as of speech, I have undertaken to explain.

The imperfections of the arrangement and phraseology of the exposition, must be charged to the conditions under which it was prepared. Seeking rest, with a mind weary of human struggle, yet buoyed with the assurance that "good will be the final goal of ill," my promise is kept in admiration and love of President Wilson, and in the wish that the young men of America, whom I yearned to join in arms quite as fully as I did in spirit, on their sublime crusade under his remarkable leadership, may appropriate his philosophy of life by conforming their efforts to a determination to solve their every problem correctly and to make that the secret of their eloquence.

JOHN W. WESCOTT.

August, 1919.

Woodrow Wilson's Eloquence

CHAPTER I.

Progress

The deathless question, is, whether, innate in man, there resides a faculty forever driving him to a better civilization. The optimist answers affirmatively; the pessimist negatively. Optimism and pessimism may be regarded as the two great distinguishing states of human society. Optimism is the product of good health, sound thinking and moral conduct. Pessimism is the result of disordered health, incorrect thinking and immoral purposes.

A quick glance at human progress will be useful. Roughly speaking, there are two admeasurements of man's growth: the one material, the other spiritual and moral. Beginning with the stone age, men lived in holes in the ground, in clefts in the rocks. They were in a state of utter savagery. They were subservient to one law alone, the law of violent and uncompromising existence. They had no ornament, except the skins of wild beasts. Their instruments were clubs and stones. Follow this same race of beings into millions of modern homes, thousands of cities, tens of thousands of towns and villages, numberless structures of beauty and grandeur, countless varieties of dress and ornamentation, and we will get a vivid conception of its material progress. See man

again, emerging from a state of brutality and remorseless savagery, erecting churches, libraries, hospitals, school houses, harnessing the forces of nature to his bidding, causing the earth to multiply and sustain his life, devising innumerable means for protecting the weak, expending his genius in philanthropic institutions, and we get an impressive view of his spiritual and moral progress. What forces, in combination and inter-play, produce the stupendous resultant called civilization?

First, is the love of existence. Merely to exist is to know some measure of pleasure and happiness. Secondly, the nervous system is so organized as to compel the human animal to avoid pain and seek pleasure. Pain, in a large way, is the educator of the race. Thirdly, selfishness, ugly as it seems to most minds, has always been and forever will be, one of the propelling forces in progress. To exist is to be selfish, since to exist is to deprive others of those things which sustain and gratify individual existence. Fourthly, the variant conceptions arising from the mysterious and unknown realities lying behind all natural phenomena. Through the ages they have given rise to practices and customs, religious and otherwise, which have had wide influence in controlling and shaping the conduct of individuals and groups of individuals. Fifthly, intelligence, forever expanding and exploiting, may account, and, to some minds may fully account for the entire progress of the race. In other words, enlightened selfishness, it may be argued, embraces within the limit of its action all that has been achieved by men.

The difficulty with this view is that it excludes, in human affairs, the exercise of sacrifice and service either for personal or general good. It eliminates the everlasting question: Is it right? Enlightened selfishness cannot explain the calmness with which the Christian martyrs endured torture and surrendered life for death. It cannot explain the readiness with which millions of men have sacrificed themselves for a great principle. It cannot explain the innumerable instances of pain and suffering endured that others might be free. Nor can it explain the unseen sacrifices of parents and friends in behalf of the weak and helpless. Nor can it explain the rise of the arts and the development of the humanities. Enlightened selfishness is well illustrated in the growth of vast combinations, commercial and political, which have spread want and misery broadcast and demanded hecatombs of lives in order that they might flourish.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to nominate that capacity in man which presides over and more and more directs and determines his every act. It is the sixth of the forces which constitute civilization. It is the moral faculty. It is the imperative interrogatory: Is it right?

If, by some process, there could be extracted from civilization the moral activities of men, there would be an inevitable recession to aboriginal savagery.

What is the moral faculty? It is the ability to distinguish between right and wrong and do the right. What are right and wrong? Right is that which produces happiness, pleasure and good. Wrong

is that which creates human misery and unhappiness. Good, happiness, misery and unhappiness, are palpable conditions. They are perceivable by uncultivated as well as by cultivated minds. Hence it is that there resides in the common consciousness of mankind a sensitive appreciation of those conditions which produce happiness and unhappiness, such for instance, as peace and war. The institution of chattel slavery is a suggestive illustration. Put it in the form of a social equation. The wealth, power and intelligence of the slave owners equalled the ignorance, poverty, helplessness and inertia of millions of slaves. A large section of our country rested upon the institution. Intelligent selfishness would seem to justify the continuation of chattel slavery. But the general consciousness of the nation saw and felt the vast and detailed suffering consequent upon the existence of the system. That general consciousness destroyed one term of the equation by a great civil conflict. It was a magnificent display of moral energy. The result was an enormous step in human progress.

Put what is called commercial slavery in the form of an equation. The power and intelligence of organized wealth and business energy equals the poverty, ignorance, helplessness and distress of the world of labor. The spread of intelligence, which distinguishes this age from all preceding ages, is rapidly disturbing the latter term of the equation. The common consciousness of man is thoroughly sensitive to social conditions as they now exist. Labor, whose back carries civilization, because of the spread of intelligence, is devoting itself to the great task of

improving social conditions throughout the world. The dogma of intelligent selfishness would preserve the equation stated. But the assertion of the moral sense of mankind is as certain to disrupt the latter term of the equation as it was inevitable that moral sense would disrupt the institution of chattel slavery. Civilization has slowly evolved a conscience. The further evolution of that conscience is sure to mollify civilization and ultimately produce a state of affairs where efforts and objects will be to conserve the health and energy and to secure the happiness of every human being. It seems to follow irresistibly that the innate quality of moral sense not only explains progress, but necessitates an ever better civilization and a more equitable social state. The time will come when every laborer, business man, politician and statesman will find himself concerned with the moral question: Is it right? When that state is reached civilization will have attained the goal which an all-wise Providence seems to have set as an objective of human existence. Morality will then become the truth and the truth morality.

From this brief analysis arises a suggestion pointing to the nature and function of real eloquence.

Supporting the conclusion to be drawn, another view may be useful. Science and religion, and art with its sub-divisions of music, architecture and literature, are the absorbing themes of research and thought. Science is the leader and corrective of all else, because it not only seeks the truth, but, if it be science, must be and is the truth. To become scientific, therefore, is to become truthful. Music, of all the

arts, is the most scientific, because it is founded on mathematics. Its substance is harmony. Music is eloquence, that form of eloquence which the mind avails itself of to express the inexpressible. Strangely enough, as long as music is harmony, it is absolute truth. The universal love of music, therefore, is an amazing confirmation of the truth stated above.

Sculpture, painting and literature, carefully looked at, disclose the same great reality. The nearer they approximate the real, the more potential they become. The evolution of these arts from their original crudity to substantial perfection furnishes more than a mere tendency in the mind to improve; it conclusively shows that men are content with nothing short of truth. Similarly with religion. From the rudest fetishism, through the ages of polytheism, and through periods of heartless persecution, corrected by science and stimulated by the arts, it has come to regard the Deity as a Being of mercy, compassion and love. It follows that the evolution of science and the arts specified, not only explains the progress of the race, but impressively shows that the moral faculty alone accounts for the growth of civilization. Thus the universal tendency in man to seek and know the truth, as the most casual reflection compels us to admit, shadows forth the nature of eloquence and justifies the conclusion to be reached.

CHAPTER II.

Eloquence

If one were asked to define science, religion, architecture, painting and music, little difficulty would be experienced in giving an intelligent and quite precise answer. But if one were asked to define eloquence, probably no two answers would exhibit the same conception and all the answers would serve to show, on the one hand, how inadequately the general mind considers eloquence, and how, on the other hand, it is regarded as a species of legerdemain; an art, the possession of which is desired by all men; a sort of utility sought after by every one; a rare and magical power possessed by few, coveted by all.

A few definitions, taken at random, will illustrate the notion:

Webster's Dictionary:—"Eloquence is fluent, forcible, elegant and persuasive speech in public; the power of expressing strong emotions in striking and appropriate language. It ordinarily implies elevated and forceful thought, well-chosen language, an easy and effective utterance, and an impassioned manner."

Standard Dictionary:—"The power or act of speaking or writing in language expressing strong feeling, so as to move or convince; lofty, impassioned and fluent utterance."

Funk and Wagnalls:—"The quality of being eloquent, or moving the mind; as the eloquence of tears."

MACAULAY:—"The hearts of men are their books; events are their tutors; great actions are their eloquence."

CAMPBELL:—"Song is but the eloquence of truth."

DANIEL WEBSTER:—"He is an orator that can make me think as he thinks and feel as he feels."

CICERO:—"As the grace of man is in the mind, so is the beauty of the mind in eloquence."

ROCHEFOUCAULD:—"There is as much eloquence in the tone of the voice, in the eyes, and in the air of a speaker as in his choice of words."

DANIEL WEBSTER:—"True eloquence does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject and in the occasion."

These definitions, taken indiscriminately from many, provoke two comments: First, if they are true, eloquence as an art is mere entertainment; secondly, if they are true, eloquence is an art that cannot, like other arts, forever tend toward the absolute truth. While all other arts plainly approach, in their evolution, the absolute truth, the art of eloquence forever lags behind and remains an indefinite and unscientific means of entertainment.

Much confusion on the subject has also arisen from the word eloquence itself. Its etymology, the Latin verb *loquor,* seems to limit eloquence to vocal

utterance. This conception is too narrow, since it would exclude writing, facial expression and action. Therefore, to reason correctly about the matter, eloquence must embrace voice, facial expression, action, writing, and the mind, which finds its expression through these agencies.

The mind is a hidden and unseen force. It can communicate itself only by speech, which is the use of signs and symbols for the portraiture of mental imagery and movement; by actions, the unspoken instruments of mental states; by the expression of the features, a division of action; by the totality of individual life, a combination of speech, action and facial expression; or by a species of indefinable instinct by which one accurately infers the character, purpose and mental state of another. There are no other conceivable ways of disclosing that strange power in man called mind. If, in the use of any or all of these instrumentalities, there is dishonesty of expression and immorality of purpose, the mind cannot contribute to the sum total of human happiness, but must necessarily, sooner or later, add to the sum total of human unhappiness. It follows plainly, therefore, that the ordinary conceptions of eloquence are unsound. If, with the other arts, eloquence is to forever tend to approximate the truth, it must proceed upon the same principles as underlie the evolution of all progress.

Since eloquence, expression, whether by speech, writing, or action, has for its necessary objects the publication of the mind, it must embrace, in its broadest, most accurate and generic sense, every

agency of mental communication. It may be truthfully said, consequently, that eloquence is the queen of the arts, the most majestic and imperious of them all. In this sense of the term, it becomes quite evident that civilization itself is the product of real eloquence.

Obviously there can be but one correct solution of any problem. Eloquence, either by speech, writing, or action must be the means by which the solution of every problem is stated or known. This dogma applies, not to science exclusively, but to all of the arts. If the solution fails, there is error in the premises and the resulting discomfort must be corrected by a proper revision effected by irrefragable reasoning based upon moral effort.

The ultimatum, consequently, is to state the evolutionary principle of eloquence. The two greatest pieces of eloquence in existence are The Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. They have influenced and controlled millions of men. Why? Because they express the truth so clearly that no one can question them. They command immediate assent. Ordinarily, they are not regarded as eloquence. We know nothing, for instance, of the voice, action, or manner of Christ, except as they may be inferred from his words. But He was the most eloquent Being that ever trod the earth. Why? Because everything He said and did added to human happiness and lessened unhappiness.

If eloquence is fluent and persuasive speech in public, what is to be said of millions of speeches on the streets, in marts of trade, in homes, constituting the daily life of the world? Each of them involves

effective and persuasive speech. What is to be said of hundreds of thousands of daily acts of sacrifice and aid? What of men who lay down their lives for a great cause? If eloquence is the power to make one think and feel as another thinks and feels, what if the orator, or actor, is absolutely wrong and is thoroughly conscious of his error? It is now very clear that the ordinary conceptions of eloquence may reduce the art to mere pretense, because it may totally lack the moral quality known as truth.

If the reasoning, already gone through, forces a just mind to accept morality as the principle of progress, as seems inevitable, we have reached a true conception of eloquence. Since morality is the truth, and, since all the arts manifestly tend towards the truth, it follows, by logical necessity, that eloquence, which, in its various modes of action, becomes the chief of the arts, must have, as its eternal principle, morality. And, since morality is obviously the truth and the source of human happiness, the true nature and function of eloquence is plainly discernible. Eloquence is the power to state and act the manifest truth.

I hold that morality is the substance of progress. The millions of words and acts, which constitute the recurring daily life of the world are an admixture of good and bad motives. But the desire for happiness, the growing conscience of the race, neutralizes the malign and pernicious motives of individuals. This generalization again explains progress and proves that the moral faculty, which is eloquence, is the cause of progress. It again proves the great law that

real eloquence consists in one's ability and purpose to utter and act manifest truth, in the presence of which fraud and chicanery slink away.

Consider the negative view. Manner cannot, in itself, be eloquence. Beauty of language cannot of itself be eloquence. Dignity and force cannot of themselves constitute eloquence, nor can the occasion, nor the subject, nor the man. These are mere incidents. It is profound error to suppose, a conception common to all time, that these accomplishments are the substance of eloquence. It is a waste of time and energy to contemplate eloquence in the light of these attributes, and to undertake to achieve it by their use. Entertainment is a fundamentally different thing from eloquence. The first indispensable essential is the correct solution of the problem about which one undertakes to act or speak. If the solution is correct, it must be accepted by all; if incorrect, it must be rejected by all. If the solution is correct, it commands and dominates, because it is the truth. Manner or style are of no consequence, except as they may render the correct solution more attractive and beautiful. If the speaker, writer or actor has not grasped or stated the truth, his effort has failed; he has not become eloquent. He may have entertained, but he has not established the truth. He may have pleased, by manner and style, but he has advanced not one step. He has added not one thing to the totality and beauty of truth, nothing to the sum of human comfort and happiness.

Two illustrations emphasize the point. In the days of Prof. Huxley, a brilliant American speaker,

at an important function, stirred his hearers to a frenzy of excitement. After the applause subsided, another American turned to the great British thinker and said: "Wasn't that a wonderful speech? What do you think of it?" Prof. Huxley's reply was: "What did he say?" His interrogator, after thinking, answered: "For the life of me, I can't tell." It was entertainment; not eloquence. It was making a farce of eloquence. It was the loss of a great opportunity to utter some truth, which the speaker's hearers would have appropriated to their everlasting benefit.

The second illustration is a message to the National Army, uttered September 3, 1917:

"To the Soldiers of the National Army: You are undertaking a great duty. The heart of the whole country is with you. Everything that you do will be watched with the deepest interest and with the deepest solicitude, not only by those who are near and dear to you, but by the whole nation besides. For this great war draws us all together, makes us all comrades and brothers, as all true Americans felt themselves to be when we first made our national independence.

"The eyes of all the world will be on you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere not only what good soldiers you are, but also what good men you are, keeping yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through.

"Let us set for ourselves a standard so high that it will be a glory to live up to it, and then let us live up to it, and add a new laurel to the crown of America.

"My affectionate confidence goes with you in every battle and every test. God keep and guide you.

"WOODROW WILSON."

This message came from the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. It is not the speech of a soldier, but the prayer of a God-fearing man. Its simplicity is its sincerity. Its sublimity is its truthfullness. Its eloquence is its morality. It voiced the moral sense of America. The creation of the American army in a few months is the wonder of history. Rich and poor, learned and illiterate, as by a divine impulse, united their efforts and regulated their lives in such a way as to make them the most resistless organized power that ever trod a battlefield. They were not mercenaries. They were free men, bound, driven and controlled by a moral purpose never witnessed in the course of civilization.

This short speech is the very heart and soul of the man I came to know so well. Events, momentous in import, were crowding so rapidly one upon the other, that this appeal escaped, in some measure, the attention which it deserved. It would be interesting to collate all the great addresses of the immortal soldiers of history for comparison with this. Some of them were strong in diction, some brilliant in imagery, some powerful in appeal, but not one of them breathes the morality found in every word of

this one. "Clean through and through" is a concept never before uttered and enforced by a commander-in-chief of a great military power. It was the living truth prescribed as a measure of military conduct. It explains the irrestibility of the American Army. "All comrades and brothers," without distinction in purpose, object and effort, means a better civilization because it is the moral faculty of the race lifting men to higher things. It is eloquence.

These two illustrations will at once give rise to a criticism. The universal notions of eloquence will suggest the difference between a social occasion and a war. It will be said that the one is serious and the other a time for relaxation; that the one demands sober thought, while the other calls for fun. This may be freely conceded. But the answer to the criticism is, first, that nothing entertains the mind so much as truth; secondly, that truth may wear the garb of wit, irony, sarcasm and never loose the power which the manifest truth always carries with it.

These two illustrations cover the whole ground. They show how speech, writing, action and purpose may range from buffoonery to eloquence; from linguistic legerdemain to morality; from idle entertainment to an exposition of the beauties of truth. They show how easily the queen of the arts, eloquence, may be degraded, and they show how it may be utilized to lift the whole human family nearer to true morality, nearer to the truth itself. They show more. They show how eloquence, either by speech, writing, action, or purpose has, through the ages, carried the human family from its original savagery to the best

and highest moral state yet attained by it. Indeed, the beauty of all the arts is, in the final analysis, nothing but eloquence itself. So that real eloquence is the undefiled instrument of human progress. It may be said to be the very essence of morality itself.

For many years I have been engaged in thousands of legal controversies, and have appeared before public audiences as a speaker many times. In school, and out of school, I had been taught to believe that eloquence had attained its object, if the point was carried and applause won. But my views of eloquence were revolutionized by the study of Woodrow Wilson and his speeches. I learned that, just in proportion as premises were sound and conclusions just, speech and writing became resistless and eloquent. I learned that manner, style, earnestness, true hand-maidens of eloquence, were not eloquence. I learned that the objective of all speech, writing and action was the truth. Therefore, I saw that real eloquence was limited by one's power, not to persuade or deceive, but to make the truth so plain that all honest minds at once assented to it. I saw, for the first time, that the vast majority of human communications were based upon truth, upon morality, and therefore, saw with entire clearness that the moral faculty in man was the resistless agent forever driving him to a better civilization. How this view crystallized into conviction, by association with Woodrow Wilson, it is my pleasure now briefly to detail.

I will not undertake to analyze his character, nor make declarations concerning that in him which lies behind his acts and words. It is one of the propen-

sities of the human animal to snarl at and defame those, whom, for different reasons, we dislike; to laud and extol, those, whom, for various reasons, we like. It is one of our useless pastimes. No man thoroughly knows himself. Much less can he know another. It is the very sublimity of impudence for one to assume to publish that about another which is forever a sealed book. Yet, how often we see men of parts and of facility of expression engaged in an effort to tell the world all about a fellow-being concerning whom they know nothing aside from his words and acts. Therefore, to arbitrarily affirm things relative to the unknown essence of a human character, is not only immoral, but the abasement of eloquence. It is using speech, not to declare the truth, but to publish one's own lack of truthful purpose. We see this every day in the abuse of our neighbors and especially of public men. The subsequent narrative will be limited to facts as nearly as may be.

From one motive and another, from one cause and another, the possession of genius, or even what is called talent, may be denied Woodrow Wilson; but that he possesses tremendous force and has a far reaching influence, that time will not lessen, can be denied by no one. The nature of that force, as it came to exercise itself on men's mind and conduct, is what I am chiefly concerned with. It was a discussion with Mr. Griffin of that power in him which ended in my promise to reduce to writing the views herein expressed.

CHAPTER III.

My First Meeting With Woodrow Wilson

My acquaintance with Woodrow Wilson, his remarkably quick and accurate mentality, his resistless moral energy, his wide range of knowledge, his profound human sympathy, his fidelity to all the relations of life, his companionable and genial nature, his wit, humor and composure were seen by me under unexpected circumstances.

My parents, in every detail of life, were controlled by the necessities of poverty and the morality of labor. Reared in such practical philosophy, preparatory school days and college life harmonized perfectly therewith. Therefore, the idealism of school days caused me to face life with the belief that all men were driven in their activities by the same lofty convictions. Almost immediately it was discovered that the principle of enlightened selfishness, stimulated by downright dishonesty, was dividing men into classes and engendering antagonisms, which meant anything but the well-being of the community. The result was that I found myself in sharp conflict with accustomed methods. Democracy, it seemed to me, because it fostered personal initiative and offered every man a free voice in his government, should be my political faith.

In New Jersey there flourished a bi-partisan machine. It controlled the Legislature and its legislation. The purpose of the legislation, in the main,

was to promote the interests of a few men and corporations. Enormous sums of money were spent in purchase of the elections. The common weal was subordinated to illegitimate ends. In a small way, in concert with men concerned more about the general good than particular interests, for years I combatted these conditions. Finally came the Gubernatorial Convention of 1910. Politicians who sustained the bi-partisan machine, and certain other men, stimulated by vision and a measure of idealism, proposed to make Woodrow Wilson Governor of New Jersey. Events proved that the combination could not harmonize. There were three elements in the problem: first, the ability and morality of the proposed candidate; second, the cunning and calculations of the politicians; and third, the vast inequality between the capacities of the visionaries and idealists and those of Dr. Wilson. Disruption was the inevitable fate of the undertaking.

To me, however, the situation was one of shock and utter detestation. Here was a scholar, untarnished by practical politics, the head of a geat university, putting himself in the power of men who intended and expected to use him in the furtherance of their dreams and schemes. The idealism of a national seat of learning, it seemed to me, was to be degraded and polluted by contact with the worst political practices in the State of New Jersey. While discouraged, the very enormity of the offense compelled me to use every ounce of my power to help defeat a scheme apparently damnable. For that purpose I became one of the delegates to the conven-

tion at Trenton. A strong sentiment of insurgency had developed throughout the State against prevailing political conditions. Consequently unusual efforts were made to defeat the nomination of Woodrow Wilson.

In the convention of 1907, Frank S. Katzenbach, a lawyer of spotless fame and exalted notions of public duty, had been nominated by the Democratic party. In the general election he had polled 186,300 votes, 8,000 less than his opponent, John Franklin Fort. It was thought by the friends of reform that he should again be nominated. The honor was afforded me to place his name before the convention. The day was hot. Feeling ran intense and deep.

After setting forth conditions in the State and the undoubted qualifications of Mr. Katzenbach, I made an attack upon Woodrow Wilson and the powers supporting him that produced an effect never to be forgotten by those who were there. The nomination of Woodrow Wilson had been pre-determined to a nicety by political bosses, but the immorality of the situation was so exposed as to throw the convention into a state of almost uncontrollable frenzy. The supporters of Woodrow Wilson were in a state of panic. Men were on their feet shaking their fists and howling like mad. The storm of protest threatened to carry everything before it. The insurgents were jubilant and confident of victory. It was the happiest day of my life because it seemed certain that the good influences of the State were to come into control of its affairs. Yet, when the vote was counted, it was found that the work of the experienced machine had

withstood the attack. Woodrow Wilson had been nominated by a small majority. Delegates who had pledged themselves to vote against him had been won over by methods familiar to the politicians. Sore at heart, I left the convention hall and went to the railway station to get away as soon as possible from a place where, as it seemed clear to me, political morality had been outraged.

Meantime, the successful candidate had been sent for to address the convention. My brother William, who was also a delegate, remained to hear Woodrow Wilson. I was still at the station, when my brother came with a grave face, and putting his hand on my shoulder, said, "John, we may be wrong about that man. He made a great speech. It was amazingly candid and forceful, exactly in line with your views and those of every real reformer in the State. Let me read you his concluding paragraphs." And he thereupon read to me from the evening paper: "America is not distinguished so much by its might and material power as by the fact that it was born with an ideal—a purpose to serve mankind. And all mankind has sought her as a haven of equal justice. When I look upon the American flag before me, I sometimes think that it is made of parchment and of blood. The white in it stands for purity, the red in it signifies blood-parchments on which is written the rights of mankind, and blood that was spilled in order that those rights might be perpetuated. Let us dedicate the Democratic party to the recovery of those rights."

On our way home I eagerly read and studied all that Dr. Wilson had uttered in that memorable acceptance and soon thereafter an interview was effected with him. Knowing well the power and purpose of the men who secured his nomination, I was still suspicious and doubtful. I took with me to the interview in Princeton, a very capable intellectual bodyguard, Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., whom Governor Wilson afterwards made President of the Public Utilities Commission of New Jersey, and who subsequently entered the National Army to render cognate service during the war.

This was the first time I had seen the man whom I now regard as one of the greatest personalities of history. My first impressions of Dr. Wilson were not free of doubt, for the reason that I still regarded it as quite impossible that one whose nomination for a great office had been accomplished by men and methods such as I had denounced in the convention, could be a thoroughly good man, with great vision, uncompromising patriotism and an impregnable purpose to serve his countrymen. But I saw a frank character, open, alert, and very gifted. I at once observed an irreconcilable incongruity between the man and machine politics.

The first topic of conversation was the nature and character of my assault upon him in the convention. With such fairness and truthfulness as limited faculties would permit, the reasons for my course were fully stated. Without criticism of my conduct, but with an implied justification of it, Dr. Wilson gave a full and chronological account of all the circum-

stances, involving persons and conversations, which led to his willingness to accept the leadership of the Democratic party in New Jersey. Self-respect required me, therefore, to state that, upon the assumption that his narrative of events was correct, I was not only in error in my views about him and his nomination, but that there remained an obligation on my part to him and to the public to correct my error. When subsequent investigation convinced me that my judgment, because of lack of knowledge of the facts, had been wrong, I made my retraction as positive and extensive as were my opportunities to do so.

Dr. Wilson disclosed on this occasion his entire political philosophy by this statement:

"Of practical politics I know nothing, but I do know that deep in the heart of every man there is a desire to do what is right, and I will have, if I do what is right, the support of every patriotic and good citizen." The great events that followed in the immediate history of the State and country, revealed to the full the astounding morality and righteousness of the man who spoke. A brief discussion of political conditions and affairs in New Jersey followed. My gratification to find that Dr. Wilson was sensitively alive to the needs of the State was without limit.

Of the more human aspects of the interview nothing impressed me so much as the conciseness and fairness of Dr. Wilson, unless, perhaps it was his wit, which was as spontaneous and prolific as a gushing fountain. Before leaving I said to him: "Whether I support you in the coming campaign will depend upon investigations which I propose to

make. If I conclude to help you, and you are successful, let it be understood and never forgotten that there will be no office within your gift which I would be even tempted to accept." We were standing at the time. Dr. Wilson grasped my hand, and with that marvelous gaze, so characteristic of him, said, "I like that. Good-bye." This ended my first interview with a man destined to become the commanding figure of the world. It can well be imagined with what perplexity of mind, concerning the possibilities of the campaign to come, I left the home of Woodrow Wilson in Princeton.

Having verified the essentials and many of the details of Dr. Wilson's statements, I gladly threw into his campaign all the zeal, energy and intelligence at my command. And what a campaign! The State was overwhelmingly Republican in its vote. The two political machines had taken it for granted that the Democratic candidate, if elected, would be a facile instrument in doing their bidding, while the same assumption was indulged in with reference to his adversary. Dr. Wilson, in a series of plain and powerful speeches, showed the need of, and promised, first, the reformation of the finances of the State; second, a divorce between the agents of special interests and the State House; third, the purification of the elections; and fourth, the formation of a legislative program having for its object exclusively the public benefit. It soon became apparent, that the Democratic candidate was not only a free agent, but splendid in his determination to put the politics of the State on an exalted and moral plane. The machine

men saw their danger and brought to bear every means of strategy, good and corrupt, to defeat his election. The Democratic campaign became literally evangelical. It took on a fervor never before known in the State. It became a contagion, resistless and universal. The result was that Dr. Wilson was elected by a tremendous majority.

During the campaign I obtained more accurate and comprehensive views of the mentality and purpose of this political crusader. His versatility in dealing with a few fundamental propositions was phenomenal. The illustrations used by the speaker were from all conditions, all ages and all philosophies. Humor and wit, constantly restrained, were as pure and unsullied as the mind that projected them. The marvel was that all audiences, either in cities or rural districts, whether composed in the main of thoughtful and cultivated people, or by men whose fingers were bent by toil and faces seamed by care and poverty, were in instant and zealous rapport with him. Harangue was invariably absent. There was no strain for effect; nor was there any evidence of a desire to win a personal triumph. Purity of diction, logical order, clearness and simplicity of statement were to me the features of the most remarkable series of speeches I had ever heard uttered. From the endeavor to explain satisfactorily to myself this rare exhibition of power, I at length appreciated the truth of the statement made by Dr. Wilson to me in the interview at Princeton. Further study disclosed the fact that his every speech was distinctly moral. It also appeared that here was man seeking, acting

and stating the truth. It finally became apparent that it was the impressive morality of his speeches and their obvious truth which so easily caught, dominated and convinced all minds. Here was the solution of the riddle of his success and here was discovered the secret of real eloquence, my reflections upon which, originally stated to Mr. Griffin, have resulted in this discussion. I became convinced that no trick of language, brilliant sophistry, or impassioned manner could achieve great results in the domain of eloquence, unless the speaker had the truth, supported by resistless moral energy. In that case alone, I believe, can oratory, or eloquence, fully perform its function.

Always, finally, when I have reflected on these and subsequent events, and have asked myself: What is this strange man, what his power and what his eloquence? The answer has resolved itself to this: He is the impersonation of moral energy and righteousness. If the spiritual theory of civilization is correct, then clearly this man is preeminently an instrumentality of Providence leading the human family from a state of selfish calculation, supported by force, to a condition where every man is confronted with the supreme interrogatory: Is it right?—to a condition of determination to do as nearly right as is practically possible—to a condition of sacrifice and compromise, where the object of men is to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number, to augment happiness and diminish suffering.

For this is his power. While it has made him the central point of assault by the reactionary and

selfish interests of men, it explains why he has never deviated from a moral course, knowing that morality amongst men is right. It has been said that he was the most stubborn of men. An intimate personal knowledge of his character refutes this charge. He can change his mind and purpose more easily than any man I know, provided one can show him that he is morally wrong. On the other hand, once he is convinced that he is morally right, it becomes impossible to move him by any art, persuasion or consideration. I know of no man in whose presence one may feel more comfortable, or more uncomfortable. If you are right, candid and moral in your purposes, it is a delight and inspiration to come into the presence of this repository of moral potency. If you are wrong, if your purpose is one of selfishness and calculation, the very gaze of the man causes the utmost discomfiture.

This quality of character largely, if not entirely, explains the declination of some politicians to meet him and the uncompromising hostility of some of those who have met him. His strength is his obvious righteousness. The individual feels it; the world knows it. Hence he is the commanding figure of the age, palpably designed to help his fellow creatures attain a higher and better civilization by the exercise of their moral faculties.

And this, likewise, is the quality of his eloquence. It is not the use of facile and apt expression. It is not the legerdemain of language, concealing thought and distorting truth. It is neither gesture nor words.

It is not arrangement nor sophistry. It is moral purpose and a consuming desire to be right and to state and act the truth. This is the secret of real eloquence. And this is Woodrow Wilson's eloquence.

CHAPTER IV.

His Governorship

As Governor Wilson began his new work, the politicians, who had sought and predicted his defeat, still called him a "Schoolmaster" and not infrequently declared that when they got him to Trenton, they would run away with the inexperienced pedagogue and have their own fun with him. He was confronted with a hostile Legislature, of a differing political faith and purpose. There were brought to bear upon that Legislature the same methods and forces that Dr. Wilson had used in his campaign. Before clear, direct, moral and truthful argument, legislative opposition gradually yielded and melted away. In Governor Wilson's efforts to realize the promises he had made to the people he was tremendously aided and reinforced by the moral rebound of his remarkable campaign. The people of the State, at least for the time being, had been led to accept and believe in the ideals of this gifted and good man and they made themselves felt in the Legislature. The consequence was that he wrote a series of statutes which put New Jersey far in advance of her sister States. He drove corporations out of politics and caused them to do a legitimate business. He put the finances of the State upon a sound and healthy basis. He purified elections and substantially stopped the use of money in controlling votes. He impregnated the electorate with a moral purpose and a sense of

profound responsibility. He made New Jersey clean. His work was tantamount to a moral revolution. Certainly he effected a political revolution. A moralist of grandeur, he became the most practical of all the Governors in the United States. His moral fidelity was carried into every relationship; personal, social and public. His campaign and his work at Trenton began to attract the attention of the entire country.

Two incidents, because of their importance in disclosing the personality and eloquence of this Governor of New Jersey, should be here set down. While touring the county of Cape May on a Saturday evening, he spoke in the Town Hall, at Cape May City, then went to Cape May Court House for his second speech of the evening, then to Wildwood, where his third speech was made. He had indulged besides in several arguments during the day to crowds of people. He was obliged to return to Cape May City from Wildwood and got there about one o'clock Sunday morning in a state of obvious exhaustion. I said to him: "Dr. Wilson, you'd better retire and get some rest." To which he replied: "I will recuperate by having some fun with you boys." There were about thirty of us present. He began by telling a side-splitting story. The ensuing laughter was joined in by himself very heartily. This story was followed by some twenty more, derived from all conditions, classes and times. His mastery of dialects and brogue was perfect. To anyone in an adjoining room it would have been quite impossible not to believe that a real Irishman, German or other

national type was not talking. It was perhaps three o'clock when the party separated. Everyone was astonished at the candidate's phenomenal talent in story telling. But what impressed me most was his complete recovery from weariness. He seemed to be refreshed as by a sound sleep. I reflected upon his statement: "I will recuperate by having some fun with you boys!"

The other incident occurred at the beginning of his second campaign for the presidency. During a dinner to President Wilson at the Waldorf-Astoria, I carried on with Dr. Grayson, his personal physician, a long discussion concerning the physical powers of President Wilson. Dr. Grayson gave me the details of a typical day's work. I said, "How is it possible for him, day in and day out, to do such an enormous amount of work and not break down?" To which Dr. Grayson at once replied: "It is his sense of humor; he recuperates upon the food of fun." Fortunate is the man who possesses so rare and useful a gift. It saves his breaking under a load of labor and responsibility. I have always believed in the medicinal value of fun and cheerfulness, but never before saw it so triumphantly asserted. It is generally supposed that President Wilson is an austere personage and so practical as to be out of touch with common humanity. Afterwards, an occasion permitted me to comment to the President upon the infrequency in his public speeches of apt stories, to which he answered: "I am constantly tempted to use them, but fear that they might afford the impression of flippancy." He loves to make puns, some-

times termed the lowest form of wit, but in many conversations with him, both as Governor and President, his spirit of fun and intellectual playfulness, while very pronounced, have never left the impression that his humor was anything less than sound philosophy, good sense, and perfectly clean morality.

CHAPTER V.

His Further Progress

There always have been and always will be two theories explanatory of civilization; one spiritual, the other material. Either theory may properly embrace what has already been said concerning the moral faculty in the progress of the race. For my purpose it is unimportant which theory may be accepted. But it is difficult to explain the fact that every great crisis in human history produces a commanding leader. In the case of President Wilson the problem is all the more perplexing. For the first time in American History there arose, from a seat of learning, a character not only relatively unknown, but unschooled in the art of politics. Woodrow Wilson was without political experience and training, and unassociated with politicians. He had drunk deep at the fountain of learning, had written a history of his country, and somewhat upon the theory of our government. It was thought by certain designful men that his talents and prestige might be utilized to further their schemes and purposes. Convinced, as I first was, that the movement was nefarious, I happened to come very near to defeating it. Considering what followed and what is going on in the world at the present hour, one can well imagine how often I have asked myself what the consequences might have been had that opposition to his rise been successful. The query is not an idle one when it is suggested

whether a Divine Providence was not preparing, under such unusual circumstances, to meet the future of our beloved country by the production of this remarkable character.

This query loses none of its interest when we pass to the next step in the work of President Wilson. The moral energy of the man, together with his practical achievements, had arrested the attention of the observing minds of every State in the Union. It was as if some great moral compulsion were already moving the American people, as if Providence were compelling them to prepare for events that few men, if any, imagined could be possible.

The historic Baltimore Convention of 1912 was destined to emphasize the query stated. The convention lasted from the 25th of June to the 2nd of July. It was probably the most remarkable and momentous ever held, since, within its unseen potentialities, resided a moral force, which, in the near future, was to direct and largely control the fate of the world, the civilization of mankind.

I will not speak of the incidents of the convention, but rather of its meaning. Probably no convention ever conducted its affairs upon a loftier or purer basis. While argument, appeal and political manœuver were driven by an intensity and zeal seldom witnessed, there was not even a suggestion of unfairness or trickery from the beginning to the end of its memorable days. It was generally conceded, before the balloting began, that the successful candidate would be the Hon. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, or else Woodrow Wilson,

the meteoric Governor of New Jersey. The first ballot gave Speaker Clark four hundred forty, and Governor Wilson, three hundred twenty-four votes, the other votes being scattered among various other candidates.

According to universal experience, the first ballot meant the nomination of Mr. Clark. As the balloting proceeded, he gained, but so did Governor Wilson. Still, Clark's lead was so pronounced that there seemed to be no doubt about his ultimate success. Yet, on the forty-sixth ballot Governor Wilson won the nomination. Again, therefore, I put the query: How explain the rise of the man whose course transcended all precedent?

Governor Wilson made no bargains, nor appeals with a view of advancing his interests in the convention. A profound moralist, he had an impregnable faith in an overruling Providence. His Christianity was as unpretentious as it was real. Therefore, preceding and during the convention he kept his hands off, and to some of his friends, seemed passive to the extent of indifference itself. He believed that the right thing would happen. His trust in an all-wise Being was as impressive as his belief in the ultimate triumph of righteousness in human affairs.

The members of the convention who espoused Governor Wilson's cause were of a faith similar to his own. They had studied the problems of the times. They had come to believe that the country was drifting to a crisis, which required for its direction the genius and character already proclaimed in the public acts of New Jersey's Governor. Con-

sequently, they were not only impervious to the pleadings and manœuvers of opposing candidates, but were also as determined as the Christian martyrs of old. Nothing could disturb their faith in the man or their sense of duty to the public. They were held by a great moral conviction. They were very like those brave spirits who attacked the institution of slavery. They had the zeal and purpose of the Crusaders. They argued as if the fate of their country depended upon the outcome of the convention. It would not have been possible, by any conceivable influence, to break the ranks of the Wilsonian phalanxes. This phenomenon never before appeared, so far as I know, in a political convention. It was a moral fact that could neither be resisted, nor circumvented. It was the rock of righteousness on which all selfish, personal hopes and ambitions were to break.

Besides this, the thousands of visitors who poured daily and nightly into the great convention hall were caught in a sort of moral contagion, which thundered the cause and purpose of the Wilson movement. It was an adjunct of almost resistless potentiality and slowly affected the convention itself. Never before had outsiders exerted such an influence on the outcome of a convention, nor could it be credited, unless witnessed. It was like the heat of a great conflagration, which mortal man could not escape noticing and feeling. Besides this, after the convention had settled with great intensity to its work, and it became apparent that a mighty conflict was raging therein, an anxious and onlooking country began to direct its

influence upon the delegates through innumerable telegrams, urging the nomination of Governor Wilson. It was one of the unseen and unrecorded but most potential influences that shaped and determined the work of the convention.

Some weeks before the convention assembled, I had made an extensive tour of the Middle West for the purpose of determining how deeply and widely the character and work of Governor Wilson had taken hold of men's minds. It was evident that the best men of that region thought and felt identically as the delegates did, who cast their first ballot for Woodrow Wilson. It was that state of conviction throughout the country which finally voiced the telegrams, which, I think, nominated him. The fate of the other candidates depended upon the usual political methods. But Governor Wilson's candidacy depended upon influences that never before entered a political convention. A species of instinct, which men were conscious of, but could not understand, was in the very air and was slowly disintegrating all previously laid plans and arrangements. It was the moral force of this strange character that appeared so unaccountably in American thought. It finally forced opposing delegates to yield until they themselves became helpless before a power which could not be resisted. So in that contradiction of all precedents and experience the politically impossible happened. It was a display of moral energy that one finds hard to explain unless he turns to a Wisdom that is not of man.

The campaign which followed is equally unexplainable by the usual methods and means employed

in the conduct of a great struggle. In no other country of the world are political bias and prejudice so intense and uncompromising as in America. It is the marvel of our national life. It was this very fact, however, that elected President Wilson. A quarrel, due more to political bias than to the domination of any great idea in the opposing parties, a quarrel without sense or justification, made President Wilson's election a certainty. Clearly this was not human design. Folly and political zeal were at grips for a purpose not intended by men. Nor can the situation be attributed to accident. There were forces underlying and guiding it which were as moral as they were resistless. The outcome, when the factors involved are studied, almost compels the belief that Providence was preparing the way for what was soon to come.

The situation with which the President dealt during his first term was almost entirely internal. The financial side of the problem was settled and American finances placed in an impregnable position. The other side of the problem, social justice, was postponed by the breaking out of the great European war. It is now upon us in a state of almost unsurmountable difficulty.

What is that phase of the problem? First, the world as a whole had produced an astounding measure of wealth and creature comforts. Secondly, the schoolhouse and printing press had completely and profoundly changed the common apprehension of labor, which, guided by a high degree of intelligent organization on the part of capital, had produced

that wealth. Very able men availed themselves of the legal and commercial means of controlling and securing an illegitimate and undue proportion of the world's wealth. The situation involved a huge immorality, which the general enlightenment of mankind could not and would not sanction. It was a moral evolution not to be dealt with by the methods of centuries gone.

The margin between universal devastation and universal life is appallingly narrow. It is as thin as the productive soil of the earth. Few men grasp the full force of this fact. The human family subsists upon what is produced day by day. The farmer feeds the world. Even those who go down to the sea and return with food, before they go, and until they return, must be sustained by the farmer. If food production were suspended for three months, the human race would disappear. Distribution of food products is equally important. If distribution of food were stopped for one month, the human family would be in a state of helpless, uncontrollable lawlessness in its struggle to secure subsistence. Wealth would lose its meaning. Poverty would destroy all government and men would become howling beasts of prey. But the farmer cannot produce without the implements of production. Therefore, as all men depend upon the farmer, so he does and must, depend upon all men. Inter-dependence, it is feared, is too little appreciated. The man of means seldom realizes how his very existence depends upon those who toil. On the other hand, the fundamental defect of socialism is that while it attempts to equalize the products

of labor, it fails to consider the impossibility of equalizing the talents and capacities of men. Inventors, organizers, discoverers, scholars, speculative thinkers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, are just as indispensable to the evolution of civilization as the man with the hoe The view that the man with the hoe is unimportant is a desperate immorality. The view that the organizer is unimportant is equally immoral. The view that one should not be rewarded more than the other is likewise wrong. And those processes by which the cunning acquire more than they earn are wrong and immoral. Combinations of producers, which undertake to compel more than just compensation are manifestly in error and engaged in an immoral undertaking, because they are resorting to the aboriginal methods of violence. The gravity of their mistake, as a practical step, lies in the circumstance that they lessen production. If the problem of social justice is to be worked out by force, not only is civilization a myth, but human happiness an impossibility. The solution of the problem is a moral one. Men are capable of reasoned argument. They are capable of seeing the right thing and they are equally capable of doing the right thing. Those who produce can well afford to rely upon the imperative morality of their needs and demands. The moral faculty in the race will ultimately adjust what is unjust. The moral sense in man is vastly more powerful than the instinct of selfishness.

I add that social justice is the immediate problem of the whole world, made so by the war just ended. America's part in the solution of that problem has

widened by the war and embraces the world. Thus, the present state of affairs appears to be the final test of the moral faculty in civilization. Either the principle of unreasoning force must prevail, or the flexible power of living Christianity must prevail. The balance wheel of the world's practical morality is President Wilson. The principles of justice and morality, as expounded and enforced by him, will prevail and the evolution of human progress will continue to be guided by man's moral faculty.

CHAPTER VI.

Instances of His Eloquence

It is to be regretted that, under the circumstances, one or two of his gubernatorial speeches can not be produced. Despite their clarity and cogency of reasoning, the most conspicuous characteristic of those speeches was the moral basis on which all of his arguments rested. From his college days to the present hour, there cannot be found, in his numerous utterances and acts, a single instance where moral purpose and an effort to state the truth are absent. On the contrary, from the beginning to the end, a consuming earnestness to get the truth and publish it is the patent and impressive fact in the life of this remarkable man. I know of no other person in political history of whom I can make this declaration with entire confidence.

I must content myself with citing two instances only. The first is a quotation from his inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1913:

"The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know

our task is to be no mere task of politics but a task which will search us through and through, whether we are able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

"This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

This declaration reveals the inmost nature and morality of President Wilson. In inaugural speeches there is, of course, always an effort to state things in strong and appealing terms. But, for the most part, such speeches are not a revelation of the real man who utters them. In this case it was. If it were possible to feel, touch and measure the very soul of mortal man, it would be agreed that this quotation is the actual vivid and living Woodrow Wilson. Nor has his participation in past momentous events, and in those of present occurrence, shown the slightest deviation from the commanding morality of this incomparable statement.

The second selection is from his address to Congress on the 8th of January, 1918, containing the celebrated fourteen points:

1. "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there will be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. "The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

5. "A free, open minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon the strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. "The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the

other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. "Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve, as this will serve, to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. "All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. "Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. "An independent Polish state should be erected which would include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose

political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

This is the sublimest declaration of practical morality ever uttered in the political and social world. It is the same thing as the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer are in the spiritual and religious world. The principles therein stated at once gripped and held the world in their mighty embrace. They reached the common consciousness of men, and, for a time at least, united their moral forces in an almost universal purpose. It was the first time in history that pure morality formulated a plan by which peace could be forever secured and war forever banished, and by which the nations could proceed to develop their resources, preserve their respective nationalities, and measurably secure the happiness and comfort of every human being on the earth. This declaration brought an end to the war, and, in my belief, will, sooner or later, secure the peace of the world for all time to come. It must be so, or we are obliged to admit that savagery and selfishness, not kindliness and righteousness, are the objectives set, by an all-wise Providence, for the attainment of the race.

No one thinks of attributing genius, talent, or even eloquence to Christ. He dealt in the simplest

manner with the profoundest truths, so that they were understood and appropriated by all honest minds. When His Divinity is taken into account, it compels the admission that His utterances acquire the sanctity of the Eternal Good, God. Christ was perfectly eloquent because He was perfectly good.

How simple, therefore, is the work of the statesman, when he proceeds upon principles of morality, righteousness and true eloquence; how very difficult is his work when he deals with selfishness, unrighteousness and immoral calculations. How soon then he creates antagonisms ending in war, as the world has witnessed so many times.

I have spent a long life in strife and struggle. The inscrutable puzzle to me is that our representative men are not more willingly guided, in their public work, by simple considerations of morality. I do not understand why, when problems arise for solution, they cannot take into account the good of all men. It seems very clear, as the situation in the world today shows, that their failure to follow the principles of plain morality, exercises all the wit of man to avoid war by compromises forever having as their object an advantage to be gained. If the principles of the fourteen points were rigorously applied, there could be no war and the Divine injunction, Peace on Earth and Good Will to Man, would be established and men would soon learn that the beauties of righteousness are more desirable than the miseries of war.

Considering which, it is not surprising that I often contemplate what might have happened, if I

had succeeded in defeating the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for the governorship of New Jersey in 1910. Nor can anyone avoid the belief, when all the foregoing is taken into account, that there is a moral design in the universe and that the moral faculty in man is forever driving human affairs to a better state.

CHAPTER VII.

Social Justice

I am writing this chapter, not only to round out the argument concerning eloquence, but to state the substance of discussions, held years ago, between President Wilson and myself. The vast project, concerning social justice, held in contemplation by him, was necessarily interrupted by the great war. It will require time, thought and moral effort to bring America and the other nations into a mood to solve the problems yet to be solved.

There can be no such thing as social justice in the absence of a sound financial system. The genius of Woodrow Wilson gave the United States admittedly the best financial system in the world. It put money easily within the reach of every industrious and honest citizen. This achievement was the beginning of the establishment of real social justice in the America of our day. The other phase of the problem, namely, the relation between labor and capital, was rendered enormously more difficult by the war of 1914. The question is seriously acute in every nation at the present time.

To the thoughtful man the wonder is, not the presence of unrest and confusion everywhere prevalent, but the absence of universal chaos. In the general social ferment, superficial thinkers are studying symptoms, not the disease; effects, not causes.

Before the war the wealth of the world afforded such a measure of general comfort that mankind was in a state of comparative contentment. It is true that socialism, an effort to equalize the enjoyment of the world's wealth, was taking root in places where poverty was most sensitively felt. Yet, there were no general unrest and disturbance of the world's business.

The war came as the direct result of greed and ambition. What was it? Approximately twenty millions of men, under arms, were engaged, for the period of four years, in the scientific destruction of wealth. Substantially all the remainder of the human family devoted its energy, in one way or another, to the sustentation of that terrible machine of devastation. Note the consequences. First, it is estimated that two hundred billions of the world's surplus wealth were destroyed, a catastrophe so enormous and wide-reaching that it must profoundly effect every human being on the earth. Secondly, approximately ten millions of the most efficient men in the world were put under the sod and twice as many were maimed and rendered practically unfit for the production of wealth, while many millions, old and young, were destroyed by massacre, starvation and disease, directly due to the war. Thirdly, the indebtedness of the nations was augmented approximately to the extent of two hundred billions. Fourthly, all the industrial and commercial processes of the world were disjointed and thrown out of their usual course. Fifthly, as inevitable consequences, prices rose with unheard of rapidity, the purchasing power of money

declined with equal rapidity, and taxes the world over were increased, almost beyond the power of the nations to carry them. Sixthly, there resulted a shortage of labor everywhere. Seventhly, the psychology of war, which, in my opinion, was the worst of its evils. During four years, men, women and children were fairly consumed by the passions of destruction, hatred, vengeance, retaliation and murder, carried on by wholesale and retail. These deep passions became almost a habit. To win, to conquer, to destroy life and property, were the burning purposes of the nations. It would not be so difficult to clear the wreckage of some great cataclysm, if men were moved, in so doing, by humane and moral purposes; but to clear the wreckage of a world war, while the habitual passions of war are still, more or less, in the possession of the nations, is an almost impossible task. Even when statesmen went at the undertaking with just and moral aims, the mass passions back home neutralized their efforts very largely. Not until the psychology of the war shall have yielded to the adoption and application of the principles of justice and morality, will social justice be made attainable.

It is as certain as the law of gravity that the world as a whole cannot get back to pre-war contentment and prosperity until the wealth destroyed by twenty millions of armed men is recreated, and until the increased national indebtedness of two hundred or more billions are brought within control. The nations are now staggering under a load of at least four hundred billions of destroyed wealth and

financial obligation. This wealth can be restored only by labor. The debts of the nations must be either paid or repudiated. Repudiation would mean commercial chaos, but, if the debts, due to the war, are to be paid, they must be paid by wealth yet to be created by human effort. The disease therefore, the symptoms of which are so assiduously studied and unavailingly doctored, is the disease of poverty and under-production. We make no progress by blinking the facts. If one's house and all his belongings are destroyed by fire, the owner is confronted with two alternatives, the one to work and recreate his lost wealth, the other to become a hinderance and an agent of disturbance.

In my speech nominating Woodrow Wilson for his second term, I predicted, because I foresaw it, the creation of a League of the Nations to secure peace and prevent war. The frightful heritage of that devastation will never be recovered from unless peace is made permanent by the abolition of war, the most immoral act, as a rule, that men engage in. Nor can social justice ever be achieved, until peace is secured as an abiding world condition. As long as war is possible, social justice is impossible, for the plain reason that war is the antithesis of social justice.

Peace cannot be secured and war prevented unless the nations agree to secure peace and prevent war. That was undertaken by the peace of Versailles. President Wilson, in the fourteenth, of the celebrated fourteen points, said: "A general association of nations must be formed." The nations at Paris used the phrase League of Nations. This attempt, tried

for the first time in the history of the world, was the greatest step ever taken by mankind to secure social justice. Two thousand years ago Christ said: "Let there be peace on earth and good will to man; do to others as you would have them do to you." The politicians and lawyers of Christ's day declared him to be a disturber of the peace and he was crucified. The nations at Paris undertook to identify the declarations of Christ with statesmanship. They undertook to make governments and international obligations moral and just. The world must either progress or retrogress. It cannot stand still. If it progresses, it must be along the lines traced in the pact of Versailles, because those lines lead to a perfect international morality. The effort at Paris was the consummate expression of the morality of Woodrow Wilson. It was a flash of eloquence that enlightened the world. The word has been spoken and its moral power will never die.

When this sublime undertaking reached the American Senate, the politicians and the lawyers condemned it, practically crucified its author, and endeavored to destroy it. It is indestructible, because morality is indestructible. It will live. The psychology of the war found its expression in personal and political hatred in the United States. Nor can this be wondered at, when it is considered that the hundred and ten millions of people, who constitute the citizenship of the United States, are a conglomerate of all the nations of the earth. Each group, making up our citizenship, was moved and controlled by the passions that moved and controlled the citizens

of the nations from which they came. It was practically impossible, in the fiery swirl of national passions, for this great moral conception to secure due and calm consideration. The advocates of the League were met by advocates of an Association, as if there were any conceivable substantial difference. If the Wilsonian phrase "Association of Nations," used in his fourteen points, had been adopted by the nations at Paris, the psychology of the war would have demanded a League of Nations. And so the psychology of the war, for the time being, has checked the great moral movement of the world towards universal peace by agreement.

Whether the phrase League of Nations, or that of an Association of Nations, be employed, international agreements become inevitable. International agreements must be kept, or morality between nations disappears. Nothing but the psychology of the war could have quarreled over the two phrases. If the purpose of either a League or an Association is to secure peace, prevent war, reduce armaments, and establish social justice, a plan, a set of rules, or principles become a necessity.

The League of Nations, adopted at Paris, by upwards of forty nations and by a vast majority of the earth's inhabitants, was framed upon four distinct principles. The first was arbitration of international disputes, the very opposite of war; the second, publication of the terms of arbitration with sufficient time for the nations to consider the fairness and justice thereof, the very opposite of war; third, in case a nation, whose dispute was arbitrated, refused

to abide by its terms, boycott of that nation by all other nations in the League, the very opposite of war; fourth, if boycott failed to compel acceptance of the terms of arbitration, force was to be applied. A simpler and more comprehensive plan to secure peace and prevent war is beyond the mind of man to conceive. Reduction of armaments was also a detail of the scheme. Based upon the purest morality, as the conception is, a universal adoption thereof would, in all human probability, have made war impossible and would have resulted in the realization of social justice throughout the world.

The fundamental objections, made by politicians in America to the adoption of the League were, first, that it would involve a surrender of national sovereignty and, second, embroil us in European disputes. These objections are not only illogical, but they are immoral.

The nations are already associated by electricity, by steam, by commerce, by blood and social ties, and by a body of international law. We cannot escape this association, if we are to remain in the family of civilized nations. But what is this sovereignty, this sacred bugbear, to be lost, if we agree with other nations to enter a compact to secure peace and prevent war?

First, what is individual sovereignty? It is the power of the individual to do as he pleases. What are the limitations upon the power of the individual to do as he pleases? They are, first, the social compact; second, the laws of the land; third, his contracts; fourth, those moral obligations which the

average man respects. These limitations upon personal sovereignty are not only moral, but the more completely they are conformed to, the more perfect is the state, the more pronounced the social justice of the state. What is national sovereignty? It is the power of the nation to do as it pleases. What are the limitations upon the exercise of that power? First, international law, so far as it has been formulated and approved by civilized nations; second, the moral obligation resident in the masses of mankind and acknowledged by men everywhere; third, treaties between nations. Treaties between nations are always, so far as their terms go, a surrender of the power of the nations, bound by that treaty, to do as they please. It is the veriest nonsense to say that, if the United States were a member of the League of Nations to secure peace and prevent war, its sovereignty would be surrendered any more than its sovereignty is surrendered when it enters into a treaty with a single power, or with two or more powers. It is equally foolish to hold that, if the United States should be a member of the League of Nations to secure peace and prevent war, it would become embroiled in European disputes. If such would be the result, then every time the United States enters into a treaty with a European power it is, at least to that extent, entangled in European affairs. Therefore, the objections raised, are not only plainly immoral, but they put America in antagonism with the tenets of Christianity.

To have checked this vast moral project, as it was formulated at Paris by Woodrow Wilson, is not to

have defeated it. It is his glory to have identified practical statesmanship with the teachings of Christ. The bent of the masses of mankind is towards peace. The moral forces of the world demand it. Its realization cannot be stopped, unless the morality of the race is transformed into its original savagery. Peace will be secured and war prevented by an agreement between the nations, whether we call it a League or an Association. The moral purposes of the world cannot be defeated in the interests of party politics, in America or in any other country.

Perhaps some politician, who defeated the League of Nations, can explain to the ordinary man, how and why, if we stipulate with European nations to reduce armaments, we do not, at least to that extent, impair our national sovereignty and become entangled in European affairs. America blundered, but and notwithstanding, unless civilization is to fail and the race lapse into savagery, the moral forces must prevail; peace will come by the concord of the nations, not only without the loss of their respective sovereignties, but by the enthronement over all of a Prince, the Prince of Peace.

Another aspect of the problem of social justice appears under a variety of isms, Nihilism, Bolshevism, Single Taxism, Socialism and what-not. In general terms their purpose is to control the production of wealth and its distribution. The growing intelligence of the world's labor, in its eagerness to escape oppression, has taken shelter under various delusions. The very term socialism, vaguely conceived and poorly considered, has drawn to it millions of earnest men.

Their quest for the true solution of the problem of social justice will not halt until the solution has been reached. It has often been pointed out that the underlying conception of these groups of thinkers will necessarily end in the destruction of capital, the very worst calamity that could visit the human family.

Just as civilization is due to the moral faculty, so the solution of the problem of social justice must be a moral, not merely an economic solution. The homeliest analysis will prove this assertion. Suppose the entire human race, unclothed, unsheltered and unfed were placed in line and reasoned with in the following way:

"Let us see upon what points we can absolutely agree. First, we are all animals, and, without shelter, clothing, food, light, air and water, must die."

Every human being would agree to this obvious truth. Air, light and water, without which we would immediately die, are furnished us by nature and nature's God. Every sensible being would agree to this truth.

"Next, do we all agree that a beneficent Providence has furnished us with the earth, from the soil of which our food must come?" Everyone agrees to this and must agree to it, with this modification, that while air, light and water are free, food must be produced somehow from the soil.

"Can we agree upon another point? Is man, by Divine decree, compelled to get food from the soil by the sweat of his brow?" If it is agreed to, as it must

be, then let us proceed to execute that decree. At the end of a day's work, on the part of the entire human family, by virtue of assent to these simple truths, what would have happened? Some would have produced nothing. The very old and the very young and the mentally feeble would have produced nothing, because it was out of their power to produce anything. Some would have produced relatively little, because their capabilities were relatively small. Others, on account of their physical and mental superiority, would have produced a great deal.

What now, is to be done with the great deal? These isms say "divide equally amongst all."

At the end of the week, it will be found that the strong and capable have produced a greater quantity. At the end of the month and the year the capable will have produced a much larger quantity. If, now, the socialistic theory be applied, there will be no surplus, because it will have been divided day by day, and, in all probability, consumed. That is to say, there will be no capital. Out of the surplus, equally divided, the old, the young, and the incompetent will have been cared for. This is moral, because it is humane and christian. Those who did their best but were unequal to the task, will have been cared for. This is moral, because it is humane and christian. Those who were indolent shirkers will have become parasites. To divide equally with them would be immoral, unjust and unchristian. To compel the able and industrious to divide the fruits of their toil, under such a system, is to compel injustice and inhumanity. But the worst of the theory is that humanity, despite

the efforts of its best, would never acquire a surplus, never acquire capital, since it would be equally divided day by day, divided by a theory inherently wrong and immoral. Under such an arrangement, progress is an impossibility; hence it is suicidal.

Under this conception, at the end of the year, it would be found that some possessed imagination and inventive faculty. They would be able to trace the secret laws of nature and discover great truths, which, practically applied, enabled them to produce incomparably more than their fellows. Some would be discovered to be great organizers and leaders and therefore capable, in conjunction with inventors, to utilize the efforts of their fellows so as to produce an enormous surplus. Yet, under the socialistic theory, inventors and organizers would be impossible and the human family would be decreed to live from hand to mouth throughout the ages. There would be no progress and the race would disappear, since everything produced would be equally divided day by day in virtue of a practice, which, because of its obvious unfairness, would lead to perpetual strife.

Take still another view. Every human being is so organized that he wants to have his own way. From the cradle to the grave he struggles to have his own way. Yet, he never succeeds in having his own way, first because of his limitations; second, because of his environment; third, because of the organized will of his fellows; fourth, because every human being, directly or indirectly, is opposing him. Still, in this universal conflict of will and desire, everybody manages to live. The daily transactions of the

human family run into the millions. Every one of these transactions is a conflict. Every one of them involves, more or less, good and bad motives. At the end of each day of these millions of transactions, what is their balance sheet? If the total of them shows more comfort and happiness than discomfort and unhappiness, not only has the world progressed, but the moral faculty has acquired ascendency, and civilization is accounted for. That is to say, the good motives of the millions of transactions daily of the human family have gained upon the bad motives. The test always is, has human happiness been augmented or decreased? Through the endless centuries human happiness and comfort have increased, or the race would have become extinct, which demonstrates the thesis that the moral faculty explains man's progress. Progress is the infinite result of infinitesimal compromises. Civilization is the cancellation of error in the infinitesimal transactions in the daily life of the race. Morality is forever in the ascendant. This progress could not have been made under the theory of an equal division of surplus. Hence the system of socialism is fundamentally wrong.

It is manifest that the capable and the willing would not submit to an equal division of the fruits of their efforts with the incapable and unwilling. It would involve a plain immorality. It would encourage the incapable and unwilling to become more so and the progress of the race would end. Consequently, the various isms having for their object the establishment of social justice would miserably fail, as is instanced by the history of Russia.

Another phase of social justice is presented in the evolution of the principle of combination. In America we conceive the virtue of our institutions to be expressed in two popular dogmas, the one equal opportunity and privilege, the other the greatest good to the greatest number. Economic science, as we are taught it, springs from the system under which men have lived from a remote past to the present day. Out of it has grown the great law of supply and demand. This law, if justly and morally applied, fits the situation in which the human animal finds himself. Our progenitors undertook to see that the law of supply and demand should be justly and morally applied. Hence the two dogmas stated. But the law of supply and demand can be applied only to an individualistic state of society. It can be justly applied only between natural individuals.

The first invention of society, which made the application of this principle difficult, was partnerships. As soon as men combine, the combination has an obvious advantage over the individual. Hence the dogma of equal opportunity and privilege begins to disappear. It has disappeared in the United States and throughout the world.

The principle of partnership has its limitation in the deaths of the individuals that constitute it and in the liability of each partner to the extent of his ownership in the wealth controlled by this form of combination and in whatever other wealth the partners may have. Partnerships are rapidly disappearing and are succeeded by another form of combination, namely, the corporation.

The corporate principle exposes three stages of development. The first was marked by a legislative limitation upon the right of the corporation to pursue more than a single line of business. The second arose when legislatures gave corporations the right to pursue any number of vocations. The third arose when legislatures gave corporations the privilege of combining. A corporation, being immortal, and its members relieved from responsibility beyond the extent of the corporate property, had an enormous advantage over the natural individual. Hence arose the modern trust, and the individual was at the mercy of a combination that he could by no possibility compete with. The modern trust largely controls both production and distribution, the very thing that socialism aims to achieve and which affords socialism its chief justification. If a number of men may combine, under the corporate principle, to control production and distribution, it is asked by the socialists, why should not government itself do the same thing? There is much force in the question, but its fallacy has been already exposed.

No more useful work of scholarship could be performed than to produce a lucid exposition of the development of the corporate principle. It has transformed human effort. While it has made individualistic competition impossible, it has multiplied the world's surplus very far beyond that which individual effort could have gone. It has made it possible for individuals of commanding talent to acquire, on the one hand, an undue part of the surplus of human effort, and on the other, to oppress masses

of men and limit competitive effort. The corporate principle, as now applied, enables the corporation to control the production of human necessities and therefore the supply and price of such necessities. It is no longer a contest between natural individuals, but one between artificial and natural individuals. So that, while the dogma of equal privilege and opportunity has disappeared, the dogma of the greatest good to the greatest number can be made, through the agency of the corporate principle, the greatest blessing ever vouchsafed to the race.

A productive machine is a combination in more senses than one. If a machine, superintended by one person, produces twice as much wealth as the person, by combination of brain and muscle, could produce, the machine, in competition, surpasses the person in production. If a piece of machinery produces, when operated by one person, twenty times the quantity of wealth producable by the combined brain and muscular power of the person operating it, it becomes the equivalent of the productive capacity of twenty persons.

This is the age of machinery. Steam engines, steam ships, factories of every sort, by their combined power and efficiency, have multiplied the wealth of the world to an extent never dreamed of by past ages. In reality it is the combination of individual brain and muscle. It is very evident that individuals, by the simple application of brain and muscle, could, by comparison, produce only an infinitesimal fraction of the wealth daily produced. It is equally evident that the ownership of the world's machinery cannot be

equally distributed amongst the inhabitants of the earth. If, from the beginning of invention, its equal distribution had been attempted, there would have been little or no machinery in existence and the world would have been incomparably poorer than it is today. While these simple truths are self-evident, they serve to show two things: First, that combination of power and effort are indispensable to general happiness and comfort; second, that the principle of combination is here to stay. No one would advocate the abolition of machinery, since by it only can the resources of the earth be exploited for the use of men.

For the same reasons, there must be combinations of machinery, factories and great business undertakings, which are capital. The common necessities of men can be met and satisfied in no other way. It, therefore, follows that vast aggregations of wealth, whether we call them trusts or soulless corporations, are here to stay. Progress cannot continue without them. Their existence destroys the dogma of equal privilege and opportunity, but, at the same time, makes the greatest good of the greatest number a realizable dream. They bring within the limits of human achievement, not only the establishment of actual social justice, but the actual abolition of poverty and unhappiness.

Yet, these great instrumentalities of good have been made instrumentalities of oppression, cause of strife, and the advocacy of all the isms that occur to men as a means of avoiding such results.

Surplus, or capital, is not only the product of human effort, but it is entirely due to differences in

the abilities of individuals. This truism lies at the bottom of all our difficulties. The man of genius cannot be held back by the stupidity of another. If so, the world would have had no surplus, no capital and no progress. There would have been no homes, no towns, no cities, and none of the instrumentalities of civilization.

Is there any real solution of the problem? Is it possible for men to attain social justice? I answer the question by three incidents, one actual, another largely actual, and the other supposititious.

Some years ago, while a strike was in progress in New Jersey, I happened to meet one of the employers of the strikers. He said to me, "The labor of America knows too much; it is above its business; it needs to be taught to keep its place." I said to him, "Are you against public schools and colleges; are you against newspapers and books; are you against general education?" He promptly answered, "No." Then I observed, "To keep the labor of America from knowing too much, you will have to keep labor from the schools and newspapers; otherwise you will support the evil you complain of. Suppose every man and woman in the world were as intelligent as you are, would the farms cease to be tilled, coal cease to be mined, ditches ceased to be dug, railroads cease to be built, and machinery cease to be made and operated? Plainly not, or we would all perish together. If all men were your equal in intelligence, would the labor of the world be any less well done? It would be better done; but you would run into this trouble. Men of your intelligence would not be

willing to do the world's manual labor under conditions and for a reward which would make their lives unhappy and miserable. There is your problem. If you are an organizer and capitalist, you are no more human than the employees who perform your manual service. The one is of as much consequence as the other in the system of things. The distinction between the human claims of one over the other is entirely false and immoral. As soon as men of superior ability and high position duly recognize the claims of men of inferior ability and lower position, the conflict between labor and capital will disappear. We must have capital and labor, or civilization will vanish. A fair and moral recognition of the inter-dependence of labor and capital, with a just reward to each according to their respective merits, will make strikes impossible and bring universal contentment."

The employer agreed to the soundness of this argument, but thought it too idealistic for the race as it now is. But the fallacy of his objection is found in the circumstance that the moral sense of men is an ever-increasing power in human relationships. It contemplates the gradual diminution of that form of selfishness which closes its eyes to the humanity of the least important laborer in the world. Justice is morality. Morality is the kingdom of Christ. Sooner or later all men recognize this eternal truth. It is the only conceivable solution of the problem of social justice. I may add that the strike in question was at once settled when the corporation did what it should have done in the first instance.

The supposititious case is this: Jones had accumulated enough wealth to sustain his family in comfort and luxury. There is enough surplus wealth in the world to liken the possessors of that wealth to the situation of Jones. He advertised for a house servant. Next day two women appeared in answer, one middle-aged, the other young. To the question by him, "What will you do the work for per week?" The elder said, "Five dollars." The younger, "Four dollars." Here was an opportunity to apply the law of supply and demand.

"Why do you want five dollars per week," asked Jones of the elder. She replied, "My husband is dead; I have three small children; their shoes are worn out; there is no coal in the bin, nor flour in the can; they are hungry; I must get five dollars, or they will suffer." The younger one, to the same question, said, "I am unmarried; I can live for less; my needs are not so imperative." Jones played the necessities of these two beings against each other and finally secured the services of the mother for four dollars per week. Society approved. He had driven a sharp bargain. He had applied the law of supply and demand. He apparently added to his wealth by the contract.

The transaction had two sides, one physical, the other moral. On the physical side, Jones had propogated ill health, suffering and inefficiency in both the mother and her children. He may have driven the young woman to want or crime by forcing her on the street. Indirectly he had added to the difficulties of society in many ways. On the moral side, Jones had

intensified his own selfishness and greed, engendered hate in the hearts of the two women and driven them towards that feeling of despair and hopelessness that leads to social unrest.

Suppose, now, that Jones, after hearing the respective stories of the women, had said to the mother, "No, I will not give you five dollars; I will give you seven," to the other, "I am interested in your case, come to my office tomorrow and I will find you some remunerative employment." The transaction would have had its physical and moral sides. Jones would have been a better and happier man. The mother would have taken up her work with good cheer and hope in her heart. Her children would have grown stronger and healthier. The young woman would have left Jones with respect and love in her heart, and Jones' interest in her behalf would have made her a stronger and better woman. In both cases the total of human happiness would have been augmented. In the end Jones finds that the services of the mother were so efficient that he had actually saved money.

In the one case, the law of supply and demand had injured society; while, in the other, an application of the moral law had benefitted society. In the one case, economic science had failed; in the other, moral science had succeeded. Christ was the greatest political economist that ever appeared. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is the last word in economic science. There is enough wealth in the world to permit the application of the moral code in every conceivable case of employment.

If it were applied, what would become of the strife between labor and capital? What would become of strikes and lockouts, what of social unrest, what of inefficiency and waste? Not economic science, but moral science will secure social justice amongst men.

The partially actual and partially supposititious illustration is the following: A graduate of one of our universities had mastered economic science. Of great energy and commanding ability, he saw a rare opportunity to establish a big commercial enterprise in one of the Eastern States. In a few years, at the head of a powerful corporation, he had built a town, employed thousands of men, women and children, and amassed a large fortune. These results had been achieved by a relentless application of the principle of combination and of the law of supply and demand. Wages had been kept to the lowest possible point. Men, women and children were worked to the very limit of human endurance. The homes of the workers became unsightly and repulsive. The children were inadequately clothed. By the factory store system the earnings of all the employees were absorbed. Religion amongst them had become a mockery. Faith had been banished from their hearts and immorality was the habit of the community. Dividends were large and regular.

The head of the institution had married a Christian woman. They had a family of beautiful children, who were indulged in extravagant luxury before the very eyes of a broken community. The good mother, by her moral ministrations, not only alleviated the sufferings of the poor to some extent, but often

protested to her powerful husband against the conditions that his system of economic science had produced. The moral and physical sides of this situation are obvious.

In course of years, the climax came. The employees could endure their conditions no longer. Socialism was at work amongst them. Labor organization directed their antagonisms into a destructive strike, because demands were refused. Factories were closed. Disorders broke out. Buildings were burned and excesses soon got beyond control. As a result, the head of the institution visited the Governor of the State to induce him to send the militia to subdue his rebellious subjects.

While at the Capitol of the State for this purpose, his children were sailing on a lake, which was a part of his extensive domain. The boat capsized. The children were doomed. Some of the strikers saw their peril, and, at the risk of their lives, succeeded in saving the children of their economic master and enemy.

For the first time in his life, the head of this tyrannical institution saw the value of the human heart. For the first time he was made to feel and know the meaning of Christ's teachings. He saw that common laborers were made in the image of God, and that they, like himself, came from the same mysterious source and were bound to answer the same destiny. At once the demands of the men were met and the strike ended.

But this was not all. A new system, thoroughly revolutionary and against every tenet of economic

science, was immediately projected. Out of the surplus of the concern, with the assent of the stockholders, a public hall was built, a reading room provided, a library established and a course of weekly lectures inaugurated. Besides, the employees were induced to buy their own homes and the company elaborated a scheme by which it was accomplished. Employees were encouraged to purchase stock of the corporation. A new church and a school house were built. Drunkenness disappeared from the community. Young children were kept out of the factories and put in schools. The whole town took on a different aspect. Flowers appeared in the yards of working men. Books and some form of music were found in their homes. Labor in the mills became an enjoyment. Some of the employees invented new processes and made improvements, which brought larger profits into the treasury of the corporation. But the most interesting of all the results was that in proportion as interest and efficiency grew, waste disappeared. It was one of the most prosperous and contented communities in America.

Here again economic science was tried and found wanting. Here again the economics of morality were tried and produced the most desirable results.

As long as men acquire more of the product of human effort than they are entitled to, whether by legitimate or illegitimate means, whether by the law of supply and demand, whether by taking advantage of human necessities and weakness and economic conditions, or by downright theft, there will be strife,

in the shape of class feeling, strikes, violence and coercion.

There are three forces resistlessly at work in modern life. One is the spread of intelligence; the other the rapid production of wealth by machinery and combination; the other a growing appreciation by many of the captains of industry of the value of morality in business transactions. Nations are gradually moulded by these conditions. The statesman who fails to build in harmony with these forces will fail and the likelihood of national and international conflict will grow.

My argument has been neither exhaustively nor gracefully framed, but it answers my purpose. It has, I believe, shown that inherent morality is driving the race to a better civilization; that, while science is the truth, the arts forever tend to coalesce with science and become scientific; that eloquence, either in speech, writing or action, is the mouthpiece of the arts and even the voice of science itself; that real eloquence is the truth, and that, therefore, eloquence is measured and determined by one's ability to state and live the manifest truth; that style and manner are not eloquence, although they may adorn it; and that truth is the most fascinating and commanding of all qualities in speech, writing or action. These views generated from the study of the speeches and acts of Woodrow Wilson, whom I regard as the first man in history to identify statesmanship with Christianity. Therefore, the world will follow him in the coming centuries, because there is in man a capacity for perfect eloquence, which is the eternal truth.

Sketch of Judge Wescott's Life

By Charles R. Bacon, *New Jersey Editor of The Philadelphia Record.*

This rugged son of a hardy toiler of New Jersey came forth from the ranks of the people. When I first came to know John W. Wescott I was covering for my paper the trial of the negro, Lingo, for the murder of Annie Miller. That was twenty-two years ago. I had known the man as a lawyer, had had some slight acquaintance with his ability and capacity by personal contact with several important cases with which he was professionally associated and had rather admired his frank and vigorous manhood, but it was in the long tedious ordeal of that great trial that I really took his measure and sounded his depths. Day after day as the trial proceeded through four solid weeks, amid many exciting and, as we newspaper men say, colorful incidents, I discovered the great warm heart that throbbed beneath that splendid frame and learned the human side of a great and masterful lawyer.

I became so imbued with the strong character which dominated the legal proceedings, overshadowing all else, that one who had prejudged the case and who feared that justice might be cheated wrote my paper in indignant protest, suggesting that I must

be in the pay of the counsel for the defense. The results fully substantiated all that I had written and clearly brought out the fact that a human heart and a great mind can so completely dominate a situation as to subordinate its every other aspect. I have always felt since those days as though it were not so much the trial of a poor negro as the development of a superb manhood that I had recorded with such enthusiasm as to evoke hostile criticism.

Never since that time have I had cause or occasion to amend my estimate of John W. Wescott. On the contrary, the years have ripened and accentuated the judgment, and now that he has been called to the service of the people, I am convinced that no more earnest and honest advocate of a righteous cause lives in our State.

It is not strange that John W. Wescott is a Democrat, considering his training and his qualities. He started with poverty and pugnaciousness and has risen by force of a rare mind, not to a position of wealth, but to one of public confidence, affection and respect. He has lived sixty-seven strenuous years, but is today as hale and serene as though a life of plenty and the gospel of love and gentleness had always been his.

In the City of Camden, where Judge Wescott practices law, he is looked on as a somewhat austere and self-contained man. He is not sociable, in the sense of being talkative and jolly, but he has hosts of warm friends who began by admiring his skill as an advocate and grew to love him as a trusted and affectionate friend. Perhaps the most notable example

of this is President Wilson himself. He first learned of Judge Wescott just after being nominated by the Democratic party at Trenton for the governorship of New Jersey. The Judge had made the speech nominating ex-Mayor Katzenbach, of Trenton. With that speech he had almost stampeded the Wilson delegates for Katzenbach. The Wilson leaders could not tell for a time whether their lines would hold or not. But organization and the hand of Providence finally won the day for Wilson.

After the convention, the Judge and the candidate met at Princeton. They immediately gained each other's confidence by a frank and fearless discussion of the campaign. Their acquaintance has since grown into a personal friendship highly prized by each and it was not for political reasons alone that the Judge was selected in 1912 to put the President's name before the convention at Baltimore and again in 1916 at St. Louis.

Judge Wescott's boyhood was spent in Waterford, Camden County, where he was born in 1849. He led a hardy outdoor life. Waterford was a prosperous little glass-making village surrounded for miles by the stunted oak and pine woods of South Jersey. John Wescott, Sr., a native Jerseyman, was an expert cutter of window glass, a silent, steady man who never was known to swear or lie. He believed that to spare the rod spoiled the child.

The same belief inspired the village school teacher, who gave the future presidential nominator his first lesson in public speaking. This teacher, a tall, stalwart youth named Reed, required the children to

"speak pieces." Johnny Wescott wouldn't speak. Reed had a will of his own also. The school was on the second floor of a large grange hall, which still stands there beside the White Horse Pike. It was hot weather and the windows were raised. Fearing that the rebellious and stubborn boy might try a dangerous escape, Reed stationed the big boys in front of the open windows, then took down his rawhide gad and commanded John to mount the platform. John mounted, but was silent. "Crack!" went the whip about his legs.

"You'd scarce expect!" prompted the teacher. In a low voice the words were finally repeated, then silence. "Crack!" came the cowhide around the little legs again. "One of my age!" yelled Reed. Out it came, but no more. Again the whip sang and cut. "To speak in public"—Crack! "On the stage." After the lines, "But if I chance to fall below Demosthenes or Cicero"——

Reed put both hands to his mouth and shouted, *"Go it, Susie, while you're young!"* and compelled the unhappy orator to wind up his speech with these humiliating words. Had the teacher lived, no one would have rejoiced more than he in the distinction as a speaker that finally came to his unresponsive little pupil.

The boy's mother, Catharine Bozarth Wescott, also native to New Jersey, did not spoil him either, but she had great ambitions for him. She had named him John Wesley and intended that he should preach the gospel of the Methodists. To his mother Judge Wescott says he owes his start in the great world.

With Reed's encouragement, she helped him off to boarding-school in New England. He had tried several times unsuccessfully to join the Union army, being rejected, even as a drummer boy, on account of his youth and slenderness. This nearly broke his heart. He resolved to become strong. He worked and fought his way along, without financial help, through Wesleyan Academy and Yale University, gaining steadily in power of body and mind. While at Yale he met his wife, Frances Pryor, a native of Connecticut.

He had developed into an all-round athlete of great skill, becoming especially well known as a boxer. He took life and himself seriously as a rule and would not let anybody get the better of him if he could help it. A New Haven policeman who had heard Wescott called the best boxer in college made some disparaging remarks about the college brand of athletics. The result was a contest between young Wescott and the best boxer on the large New Haven force, a fight which the New Haven participant, now an ancient pensioner, still loves to tell about. "It was a foine shcrap," he said recently. "I was shtrong an' quick in them days, but young Jack Wescott was a shade too clever for me; ye never could tell phwhere he'd be going to land next."

From the Yale Law School, where he took the DeForrest Gold Medal, the highest university honor in oratory and literary composition, and where he won further athletic fame as bow oar of the fast 1876 crew, of which the famous coach, Bob Cook, was stroke oar, John Wescott returned home and began

the practice of law in Camden with David Pancoast in 1878. In 1886 Governor Leon Abbett appointed him President Judge of the County Court of Common Pleas, to take the place of Judge Reed, deceased. This was the same Reed who had taught school at Waterford and made the Wescott boy recite his first "piece."

At the bar, Judge Wescott had early gained the reputation of a fighter. He was always resourceful, but fought clean and hard. Always generous to a beaten adversary and cheerful himself when worsted, he has remained the inspiration and pride of the struggling youth of his profession. In 1894 he was assigned by the Supreme Court to defend Francis Lingo, the negro indicted for the murder of Mrs. Miller, wife of a farmer living near Matchtown, Camden County. Mr. Wescott literally took his life in his hands in defense of Lingo, for the whole countryside was ablaze with the desire for vengeance. Lingo was convicted after a long and bitter trial. Mr. Wescott was certain that the negro was innocent. By a study of the locality and comparing the testimony relating to time with that relating to distances, he saw that Lingo could not have been present when the woman was killed. He was allowed a half hour for argument on the rule for a new trial. When the time was up, it was unanimously agreed by the Court to let him go on. He argued the case for three days. The result was a new trial. At the second trial popular fury had subsided. Sober second thought prevailed, and Lingo was acquitted by direction of the Court on the case presented by the State, without

calling on the defense. Without Judge Wescott's zeal and tenacity, which led the Chief Justice to call him "a benevolent madman," this innocent negro would undoubtedly have been hanged for another's crime. Mr. Wescott's remarkable cross-examination had destroyed the State's case completely. He is a master in the trial of cases, as has been shown during his service as Attorney General by the conviction of the Roosevelt strike-breakers at New Brunswick, charged with the illegal shooting of strikers. They were ably defended by former Attorney General McCarter and other eminent counsel and local public sentiment was violently in their favor, but Judge Wescott fearlessly and strenuously performed his duty and effectually checked such lawlessness as had marked the handling of the strike at Roosevelt.

While president of the New Jersey State Bar Association, Judge Wescott called to address it such able and distinguished students of our legal and economic conditions as Hon. George W. Alger, of the New York Bar, and Brooks Adams, Esq., whose writings on the economic side of law are of world-wide fame among scholars. The address made by Judge Wescott himself on retiring from the presidency of the association shows the vehement optimism that lies at the foundation of his character. "Faith in the future," he then said, "is not anchored in a sea of doubt. It is an impregnable certainty, fixed in the nature of man."

While always active in politics as a propagandist of democratic ideas and policies and a tireless campaigner for the Democratic ticket, Judge Wescott

could never be induced to "play the game" for personal advancement. He ran once for Congress in 1888, and went down with Cleveland, though he led the ticket in his district. In 1907 he joined the young progressive element of South Jersey in support of Frank S. Katzenbach for Governor. It was his manly opposition to Woodrow Wilson and his equally manly espousal of the Wilson cause when convinced that it was in line with true progress that brought Judge Wescott again into a campaign for elective office. Governor Wilson chose him, after much deliberation, for the delicate and difficult task of heading the New Jersey delegation to Baltimore in 1912, and of presenting his name to the assembled convention. The result made a national reputation for the New Jersey lawyer and led his young associates in the delegation to vent their enthusiasm for him in a boom for nomination to the United States Senate. While Mr. Wescott was absent on his well-earned vacation, more than five thousand voters of his party petitioned for his nomination. Their genuine enthusiasm surprised him on his return and made it doubly hard to sacrifice, a few weeks later, the candidacy thus spontaneously made.

But loyalty to a cause triumphed instantly over personal ambition. Judge Wescott's act at that time was far-sighted, fearless and self-denying. The announcement made in May that he would again become a candidate for the nomination gave great satisfaction to all his former supporters, who had felt deprived of their first opportunity to choose for their Senator a

man bred in the hard school of poverty, who had won success against great odds and who had never forgotten the plain people who have made this country great.

Speech of Hon. John W. Wescott

of Camden, New Jersey

Nominating

Governor Woodrow Wilson

of New Jersey

For the Presidency of the United States

at the Democratic Convention

Baltimore, June 27, 1912

New Jersey, once bound, but, by the moral energy and intellectual greatness of a single soul, now free, comes to this historic convention, in the glory of her emancipation, to participate in your deliberations, aid in formulating your judgments and assist in executing your decrees. The New Jersey delegation is in no sense empowered to exercise the attributes of proprietorship. On the wreck and ruin of a bi-partisan machine a master hand has erected an ideal Commonwealth in less than two years. (Applause.) New Jersey is free. Therefore, the New Jersey delegation is commissioned to represent the great cause of democracy and to offer, as its militant and triumphant leader, a scholar, not a charlatan; a statesman, not a doctrinaire; a profound lawyer, not a splitter of legal hairs; a political economist, not an egotistical theorist; a practical politician, who con-

structs, modifies, restrains without disturbance or destruction; a resistless debater and consummate master of statement, not a mere phrase-maker; a humanitarian, not a defamer of characters and lives; a man whose mind is at once cosmopolitan and composite of all America; a gentleman of unpretentious habits, with the fear of God in his heart and the love of mankind exhibited in every act of his life (applause); above all a public servant who has been tried to the uttermost and never found wanting—peerless, matchless, unconquerable in the performance of his duty, the ultimate Democrat, the genius of liberty and the very incarnation of progress. (Applause.)

New Jersey has reasons for her course. Let us not be deceived in the essentials of the premises upon which this convention will build, if it builds successfully. Campaigns of vilification, corruption and false pretense have lost their usefulness. The evolution of national energy is toward a more intelligent morality in politics and in all other relations. (Applause.) The line of cleavage is between those who treat politics as a game and those who regard it as the serious business of government. The realignment of political parties will be on this principle. The situation admits of no dispute and no compromise. The temper and purpose of the American people will tolerate no other view. The indifference of the American public to its politics has disappeared. Any platform, and any candidate on that platform, not fully responsive to this vast social, political and economical behest will go down to ignominious defeat at the polls. (Applause.) Platforms are too often

mere historic rubbish heaps of broken promises. Candidates are too often the unfortunate creatures of arrangements and calculations. Exigencies, conditions, national needs and necessities make better platforms and produce greater leaders than does the exercise of proprietorship. (Applause.) Hence it is that a disregard of the premises will bring our dreams crashing in ruins next November.

Again the eternal conflict between equal opportunity and special privilege is upon us. Our fathers wrote the issue of that struggle in our Constitutions. They declared all men to be free and equal. In a single century that principle developed the North American continent, leavened the world with its beneficence, inspired all nations with hope and made the United States the asylum of all mankind. (Applause.) Yet America, at this very hour, presents the most stupendous contradiction in history — a people politically free, while economically bound by the most gigantic monopolies of all time and burdened with a system of taxation which exploits millions to enrich a few. We have preserved the forms of freedom, but are fast losing its substance. The evils of this condition are felt in a thousand ways throughout the land. Therefore it is that America is awake. Therefore it is that a mistake in our premises will be fatal. Therefore it is that the situation, the national exigency, the crisis, call for the right man. Therefore it is that a silent and resistless revolution demands our patriotic and best judgment. Individuals are as nothing and personal ambitions are worse than nothing. Impersonality should be the majesty of this

convention. If the chosen candidate fails in any sense or in any degree fully and completely to meet the call of the nation, he is doomed to defeat. (Applause.)

Men are known by what they say and do. Men are known by those who hate them and those who oppose them. (Applause.) Many years ago the distinguished executive of New Jersey said, "No man is great who thinks himself so, and no man is good who does not strive to secure the happiness and comfort of others." (Applause.) This is the secret of his life. This is, in the last analysis, the explanation of his power. Later, in his memorable effort to retain high scholarship and simple democracy in Princeton University, he declared, "The great voice of America does not come from seats of learning. It comes in a murmur from the hills and woods, and the farms and factories and the mills, rolling on and gaining volume until it comes to us from the homes of common men. Do these murmurs echo in the corridors of our universities? I have not heard them." A clarion call to the spirit that now moves America. Still later he shouted, "I will not cry peace so long as social injustice and political wrong exist in the State of New Jersey." (Applause.) Here is the very soul of the silent revolution now solidifying sentiment and purpose in our common country.

The deeds of this moral and intellectual giant are known to all men. They accord, not with the shams and pretenses of diseased and disorganized politics, but make national harmony with the millions of patriots determined to correct the wrongs of

liberty in all their regnant beauty and practical plutocracy and re-establish the maxims of American effectiveness. (Applause.) New Jersey loves her Governor, not for the enemies he has made, but for what he is. All evil is his enemy. He is the enemy of all evil. The influences opposing him have demonstrated his availability and fitness on the one hand, and exposed the unavailability and unfitness of certain others on the other hand. The influence that has opposed him blights and blasts any cause and any person it espouses. That influence has appealed to the sordid, the low and the criminal. That influence fattens and gorges itself on ignorance and avarice. Any man who accepts the aid of that influence would be more fortunate had a millstone been tied about his neck and he had been cast into the depths of the sea. (Applause.) New Jersey believes that the opposition to her Governor, such as it has been and such as it is, necessitates and secures his triumph.

Similar necessities, causes and motives impel all men similarly the world over. The same necessities, causes and motives which draw, as by omnipotence, all New Jersey about this great and good man, are identically the same necessities, causes and motives that are in resistless motion in every State in the Union. (Applause.) Its solidarity cannot be disintegrated. False argument falls broken against it. A revolution of intelligent and patriotic millions is the expression of these same necessities, causes and motives. Therefore, New Jersey argues that her splendid Governor is the only candidate who can not only

make Democratic success a certainty, but secure the electoral vote of almost every State in the Union. (Applause.) New Jersey herself will endorse his nomination by a majority of one hundred thousand of her liberated citizens. What New Jersey will do, every debatable State in the Union will do. (Applause.) We are building, not for a day, or even a generation, but for all time. Let not the belief that any candidate may succeed, rob us of sound judgment. What would it profit the Democratic party to win now, only to be cast out four years hence? The Democratic party is commissioned to carry on a great constructive program, having for its end a complete restoration of the doctrine of equal rights and equal opportunity—without injury or wrong to any one. Providence has given us, in the exalted character of New Jersey's executive, the mental and moral equipment to accomplish this reincarnation of democracy.

New Jersey believes that there is an omniscience in national instinct. That instinct centers in her Governor. He is that instinct. (Applause.) How can his power in every State be explained? He has been in political life less than two years. He has had no organization of the usual sort; only a practical idea, the re-establishment of equal opportunity. (Applause.) The logic of events points to him. The imperious voice of patriotism calls to him. Not his deeds alone, not his deathless words alone, not his simple personality alone, not his incomparable powers alone, not his devotion to truth and principle alone, but all combined, compel national faith and confidence in him. (Applause.) Every crisis evolves its master.

Time and circumstance have evolved the immortal Governor of New Jersey. The North, the South, the East and the West unite in him. Deep calls to deep. Height calls to height.

"From peak to peak, the rattling crags among,
Leaps the live thunder. Not from one lone cloud,
But every mountain now hath found a tongue,
And Jura answers through her misty shroud
Back to the joyous Alps, who call to her aloud."

The lightning flash of his genius has cleared the atmosphere. We now know where we are. The thunder of his sincerity is shaking the very foundations of wrong and corruption. (Applause.)

This convention stands between ninety millions of people and a thousand monopolies. It stands between ninety millions of people who need a free and fair opportunity and a thousand trusts that have special privileges. The great issue is to restore to the people equal opportunity, and, at the same time, to compel monopolies and trusts to proceed upon the same principle. This issue cannot be solved by a platform. Thousands of platforms will not solve it. The man on the platform alone can solve it. If he has the moral force and personal courage and mental ability, he will solve it because ninety millions of confiding men, woman and children stand behind him. (Applause.) Such is the meaning of the appearance of the Governor of New Jersey at this time in the history of the nation. (Applause.) From the roar and struggle and strife preceding this convention and now involving it, there arises in majesty one character, unsullied and unsoiled. He has made but one compact. That compact was with his conscience. He

has made but one agreement. That agreement was with his country and his God. (Applause.) He is under but one obligation. That obligation is to the eternal principle of truth and right. It requires no sophistry to explain either his position or his character. He stands in the quenchless light of truth, a brave, fearless and patriotic soul. (Applause.)

If Providence could spare us a Washington to lay deep in the granite of human need the foundations of the United States; if Providence could spare us a Jefferson to give form and vitality to the most splendid democracy the sun ever shone upon; if Providence could spare us a Lincoln to unite these States in impregnable unity and brotherhood, New Jersey appeals to the patriotism and good sense of this convention to give to the country the services of the distinguished Governor of New Jersey, that the doors of opportunity may again be opened wide to every man, woman and child under the Stars and Stripes, so that, to use his own matchless phrase, "their energies may be released intelligently, that peace, justice and prosperity may reign." (Applause.)

New Jersey appreciates her deliverance. New Jersey appreciates the great constructive results of her Governor's efforts during the past two years, but New Jersey appreciates more than that the honor which she now has, through her freely chosen representatives sitting before me, of placing before this convention, as a candidate for the presidency of the United States, the seer and philosopher of Princeton, the "Princeton schoolmaster," Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.)

Speech of Hon. John W. Wescott

Attorney-General of New Jersey

Nominating

Woodrow Wilson

President of the United States

for Re-election

at the Democratic Convention

at Saint Louis, June, 1916

Prophecy is fulfilled. The eternal verities of righteousness have prevailed. Undismayed by the calamities of war, unmoved by vituperation and vain declamation, holding to the pure altar of truth, the schoolmaster is statesman, the statesman financier, the financier emancipator, the emancipator pacificator, the pacificator the moral leader of democracy.

The nation is at work. The nation is at peace. The nation is accomplishing the destiny of democracy. Four years ago the nation was *not* at work. With resources boundless, with a hundred million people eager to achieve and do, commerce languished, industries halted, men were idle. The country struggled in the toils of an inadequate financial system. Credit

was at the mercy of piracy. The small business man was bound hand and foot. Panic hung like a storm cloud over the business world.

Now bursting granaries, teeming factories, crowded railways and overladen ships distribute wealth and comfort to uncounted millions the world over. Production outruns the means of distribution. The parallel of American prosperity is not found in industrial history; nor is it causeless. It did not descend, like a merciful accident, from heaven. It is not due to the devastations of a revised tariff. It is not the result of destructive legislation. It cannot be attributed to the manufacture of war materials, constituting a bare two per centum of the volume of national business. War is destruction, not production. War curtails international trade. War depresses industrial energy. When the European cataclysm struck the world, moratoria fell like a blight upon many of the neutral nations, but not upon the United States.

There stands the astounding phenomenon of American prosperity. What is its explanation? The Euclid of financial theory worked to a demonstration measures for the country's relief. He promptly put into effect the legislative expression of a great program. He did not talk. He did things. He dynamited the monetary dams and let credit flow to the remotest corners of the land, its spray dashing even upon foreign shores. (Applause.) He released the nation's resources and set the energies of all men free to exploit them. He destroyed commercial slavery. He struck off its shackles. The prosperity of the nation

is the product of statesmanship and financial genius. American credit is now limited only by its own honesty and capacity. The cause being undisturbed, the effects must remain. The schoolmaster *is* statesman, the statesman *is* financier, the financier *is* emancipator. With Lincoln, the emancipator of the chattel slave, he will live forever as the emancipator of the commercial slave. (Applause.)

The nation is at peace in a world at war. America is confronted with appalling realities. It is not the part of wisdom to play with phantoms, deal in riddles, or seek to entertain the national imagination with the legerdemain of language. To build words mountain high as the throne of vanity and ambition should not be an American pastime. An attempt to catch the presidency by phrases is the work of folly. The function of a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal is not germane to the tragic conditions of the world. When the fate of millions is at stake, it is not the part of any man to stack the cards. With civilization in peril, the sphinx becomes an anachronism. With the whole world tense and anxious, patriotic advice and suggestion are of more value than abuse and defamation. Speculation wilts in the blaze of truth. Abusive phraseology shrivels before the relentless fact. Honesty is the commanding quality of a free and patriotic American. (Applause.)

What are the realities that face us? In Mexico exist the potentialities of civilization. In her wealth, her history, her schools, her religion, her needs, her very suffering and patriotism lie the indestructible seeds of progress. To have conquered Mexico would

have seated death at the American fireside. It would have destroyed our prosperity and added hundreds of millions of taxation to the burdens of the nation. It would have planted distrust and hatred of the United States in every South American republic. It would have forfeited the respect of the world. It would have substituted the tenets of Imperialism for the principles of Americanism. It would have prostituted the bravery and patriotism of American arms to the greed and avarice of concessionaires. It would have robbed the United States of the grandeur of her mission amongst the nations of the earth. It would have made might right and repudiated the doctrines of Christianity. It would have ignored the fundamental conceptions of moral progress and denied the right of fifteen millions of people to govern themselves. (Applause.) Ambition and greed were prepared to sacrifice America and all that America stands for, in order to acquire the wealth of Mexico. The diplomacy of "watchful waiting" averted these calamities and preserved in their original purity the principles of American freedom and justice. "Watchful waiting" repudiated the brutal dictum of science that the weak must go down before the strong. Help Mexico lest over her bloody grave are sown the dragon's teeth of our own destruction. (Applause.)

War with any European nation would have set the whole world aflame and stopped the march of progress for a century. Would any one have had it so in order to affirm a "virile Americanism"? Is a "virile Americanism" bloodshed, destruction, the horrors of war and its uncertainties? The substance

of civilization is the arts, the sciences, literature, philosophy, industry, the domestic virtues, freedom, religion and peace. But this is the substance of American nationalism. This is the virility of Americanism. It knows no national boundaries. It yet lives in the trenches and broken homes of Europe and pervades its very thrones. Therefore, America lives in the trenches and broken homes of Europe and its thrones. The stupendous conflagration is consuming the errors of statesmen and dynasties; it is not consuming the substance of civilization. Civilization is a unity. War with Europe would have cut asunder the moral forces that bind the nations and left an age of darkness, anarchy and despair. Standing on the immutable foundations of such Americanism, the schoolmaster and statesman, with consummate skill, a skill that commands the admiration of the world, directs the forces of civilization, not with arms, but with reason and moral pressure against the excesses of a belligerent world. With preternatural poise and clearness of vision, he is piloting America through the rushing storm. Who can deny the existence of a moral design in the universe? Who now can question its fulfillment? Who now can close his eyes to the destiny of democracy to make the principles of civilization dominant, to bring the warring nations of the earth together in lasting peace? The passions of men die. The truth lives. America has called to Europe; Europe is responding in terms of a revitalized civilization. The sublimest picture in civil history is that of a plain American citizen manœuvring with the weapons of reason and human-

ity against the navies and armies of the contending nations, and bringing them in accord with the principles of international law. (Applause.) The American standard of peace and justice now floats on the sea. It is unfurling over the trenches of the struggling nations. From the vantage ground of imperishable Americanism the matchless craft of a real pacifist has not only avoided all war, but is leading the world in the ways of peace. What is peace but the assertion of moral progress? What is the assertion of moral progress but the indestructible civilization of Europe and America? From the smoldering ruins of a thousand cities, over the graves of millions of brave men, out of the blackness of the battle smoke, arising from the obscurities of national passions, already the peoples of the earth recognize the dim outlines, growing ever more distinct, of the composite soul of America in the patient and humane wisdom of the world's real pacificator. (Applause.) Of what avail all the wealth of our beloved land if it had been consumed in the destructiveness of war? What avail the travail of human progress for ten thousand years had not the schoolmaster and statesman been pacificator? His achievement is so vast that ambitious men are blind to its reality. But the plain millions, of all creeds and nationalities, recognize in it the imperishable glories of a Christian civilization. It glorifies the peasant and king alike. The schoolmaster *is* statesman, the statesman *is* financier, the financier *is* emancipator, the emancipator *is* the pacificator of the world.

Thus is the nation accomplishing the destiny of democracy. The commanding fact of the modern age is the spread of intelligence. The schoolhouse has conquered ignorance. The printing press has transformed the purposes and capacities of man. Education has qualified him for a better existence. The Bible has made him a moralist. Men know that the world is big enough to support the human family in peace and comfort. Men know that the great problem of peace and comfort is not yet solved. They know that it cannot be solved by the savagery of war. They know that its solution is obtainable only in conditions of peace, reason and a practical morality. This state of knowledge is the crowning achievement of progress. (Applause.)

The American experiment of self-government has stood the test. The achievements of the American system are known of all men and felt throughout the world. The United States is the world's asylum. Here all races, all conditions, all creeds are assimilated, helped, elevated, and men are made into self-governing men. In America justice has made its greatest progress, because it is progress in which all men have a part. That form of government which affords the fullest opportunity for happiness and comfort is destined to be the universal form. Such is the resistless syllogism of progress. War cannot stop its inevitable march. The opinion of all men is more potential than the opinion of one man. The best opinion of the best men, by the force of example and mutuality of interest, becomes the opinion of all

men. American opinion is embodied in a man of peace. American opinion is marching through the world. (Applause.)

When the Imperialism of Europe cast the iron dice of destiny, America threw the moral dice of destiny. America staked the principles of her justice. There they stand in untarnished integrity in the gaze of a stricken world. The intelligence of men grasps the meaning of America. Her example will readjust the relations of men everywhere. The aspirations of men are for freedom. Men and women can and should rule themselves. The day when they rule themselves war will disappear. The hand of Divinity has so written it in the needs and necessities of humanity made in Its image.

America, prosperous, peaceful, blessed, is so because the inscrutable purposes of God intended it. The contrast between Europe in flames and suffering and the United States peaceful and prosperous is the divine contrast. By saving the American system civilization is saved. The peace of America demonstrates the folly of war. The principles of democracy furnish the means of avoiding and preventing war. The universal intelligence of men decrees that the war now devastating Europe shall be the last war. It will end in the world's League of Peace. (Applause.)

Sons of America, keep unsullied the sacred shrine of peace, through whose portals will yet pass arm in arm the crowned head and the humble peasant in silent worship of God.

Out of the ruins and sufferings of the present conflict will arise a temple of justice whose dome will

be the blue vault of heaven; its illuminants the eternal stars; its pillars the everlasting hills; its ornaments the woods and bountiful fields; its music the rippling rills, the song of birds, the laughter of happy childhood; its diapason the roar of mills and the hum of industry; its votaries the peoples of the earth; its creed, on which hangs all the law and the prophets, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Above its altars in ineffaceable color will live eternally the vision of its artificer. (Applause.)

Therefore, my fellow countrymen, not I, but his deeds and achievements; not I, but the spirit and purposes of America; not I, but the prayers of just men; not I, but civilization itself, nominates to succeed himself to the presidency of the United States, to the presidency of a hundred million free people, bound in impregnable union, the scholar, the statesman, the financier, the emancipator, the pacificator, the moral leader of democracy, Woodrow Wilson. (Great demonstration, lasting forty minutes.)

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